

BX1503  
P53













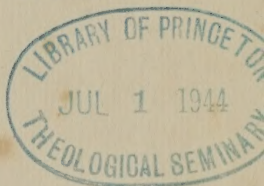


William R. Williams  
New York  
1882  
rights from J. W. Reeve  
(Importer, Fulton St.)

Autograph of Rev Henry Hoar  
author of the History of the  
Reformation under Elizabeth

*Hoar*

THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**POLICY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME**  
IN  
**IRELAND,**  
FROM  
THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH DYNASTY  
TO THE  
GREAT REBELLION.



---

BY  
**WILLIAM PHELAN, D.D.**

---

Sine irâ aut studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

---

**LONDON:**  
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, STRAND;  
R. MILLIKEN, DUBLIN; AND W. BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH.  
1827.

THE  
HISTORY

POLICY OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND

IRELAND

THE REFORMATION OF THE IRELAND CHURCH

OF THE

WILLIAM PEARCE D.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.  
IN THE STRAND, NEAR THE DOOR OF ST. MARTIN'S LANE.  
1841.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

It is said in the Introduction, that the earl of Castlehaven mentioned by Pinnar is the same who afterwards joined in the great rebellion. This is a mistake; the rebel lord was the son, or at least the heir, of the former.

## ADVERTISING

It is only in the advertisement that the name of Charleston is mentioned. There is the name who are named in the advertisement. This is a mistake; the name is the name of the person who is the name of the person.



## INTRODUCTION.

---

IT is very frequently said, that the evils with which Ireland is unquestionably afflicted, have arisen from the vicious policy of her more powerful neighbour. This opinion, first advanced by men who endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from the true causes of our distress, has gradually made its way into better company. If, indeed, its merits were sufficiently examined by comparing the state of the two countries, and by computing the years of their political connection, its truth would cover the ignominy of its origin, and Irishmen of all parties would have reason to complain. Many circumstances, however, are to be taken into the account, which people of a warm and generous temperament, who have read of much calamity, witnessed much suffering, and perhaps in their own persons experienced some harsh disability, are liable to overlook. The following

pages will not have been written in vain, should they induce any such to consider these few but important questions :—what portion of our misfortunes is imputable to the *crown* or *parliament* of England ; whether the local English government introduced new grievances, or merely omitted to remove old abuses ; whether this omission arose from culpable neglect, or, on the other hand, from necessity, from principled forbearance, and respect, however erroneous, for the supposed rights of others.

Without proceeding minutely into these inquiries, it will be enough, in this place, to state one general proposition ; that the great source of Irish misery has been, not the *power* of England, but its *want* of power. From the first connection between the islands to their legislative union, two local oligarchies, fiercely opposed to each other, but waging emulous hostility against the public welfare, fill a large space in our melancholy annals. Liberty and good order were equally the objects of their dislike : they intercepted from the sovereign, the allegiance of his subjects ; and from the people, the protecting care of their prince and the blessing of impartial laws. Thus the country was exposed to a long succession of misfortunes, which its nominal monarch, the remote and unheeded colleague of domestic tyrants, might deplore, but was unable to prevent or to remedy. Absenteeism, the freehold system, and the abolition of our colonial legislature, have greatly reduced the power of the



more ancient of these factions,<sup>a</sup> the landed aristocracy :—a brief account of it will be no unsuitable introduction to the history of its triumphant rival.

There is good reason to believe, that in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, the Irish were possessed of a respectable share of those benefits, which result from industry, laws, and literature ; with perhaps as much tranquillity, public and private, as was enjoyed by Greece at its most brilliant period. But amidst the rapine and massacre of the three following ages, their spirit and their imperfect civilization sunk together, beneath the ferocity of the northern Corsairs. The degenerate race which now appeared, inherited the mingled vices of their fathers and their enemies ; the grossness and turbulence, without the generosity, of barbarians ; the corruptions, without the arts, of more cultivated life. At the date of the arrival of the first English adventurers, every chieftain, from the dynast of a province to the tiny potentate of a realm which might be enclosed within a modern barony, was a king. The annual claim of his superior lord was settled, according to circumstances, by a tribute or a battle ; but within his own territory, he exercised all the powers of barbarous royalty. By a custom which seems to have once extended from the Himalaya mountains to the Atlantic, he was sole proprietor of all the land in his sept : the clans-

<sup>a</sup> That is, *as far as it was* a faction ; it has, indeed, been reduced considerably below its constitutional level.

men held their portions during the pleasure of their chief, and there were some national usages which added to the uncertainty of this precarious tenure. All dignities were elective: vacancies were made, and elections carried, most frequently by the sword; so that every change of masters, in every tribe, threatened, if it did not cause, a new partition of lands. No special claims to inheritance were derived from primogeniture, legitimacy, or kindred. Upon the death or emigration of a vassal, his holding reverted to the common stock: on the other hand, as youths grew to maturity or strangers became naturalized, the older occupants contracted their bounds to make room for the new settlers. These eternal fluctuations had their full effect upon the face of the country and the character of the people; there was no motive to industry, no spirit, except for turbulent adventure; cultivation was limited to the demands of nature and the landlord, and the fertility of the soil abused by a wretched system of husbandry.<sup>a</sup> A distinction was acknowledged between a slave

<sup>a</sup> It was one of the articles of *impeachment* brought in 1613 against the lord deputy Chichester by the Catholic Association of the day, that his officers levied a fine on the Irish, *for ploughing with horses by the tail*. (See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i.) In 1648, it was one of the articles of *peace* between the duke of Ormond and another Catholic Association, "that two acts lately passed in this kingdom, the one prohibiting the ploughing with horses by the tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw, be repealed." Such was Irish patriotism in the seventeenth century; making a grievance of every measure that was calculated to promote comfort and civilization, or raise the character of the people: such it is in the nineteenth.

and a freeman ; but it seems to have denoted no other difference than this, that the freeman had the right of choosing his tribe :—in choosing *that* he chose his master. Excluded from landed property by a selfish despotism, and from commercial wealth by the circumstances of a country, which had no money, no trade, and few manufactures, all who could not boast of princely blood were condemned to a state of hopeless dependence. The lords had neither the intelligence nor the generosity to give liberal institutions ; and the Brehon Code, minute in its decisions between vassal and vassal, had not ventured to restrain their licentious mis-rule. Ireland had no towns except a few seaports which were still in the hands of the Danish enemy ; there were therefore no corporations to diversify the bleak uniformity of feudal barbarism, to plead a chartered exemption from servitude, or reflect the dangerous image of plebeian rights. <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> These are the more palpable and prominent facts, as they are presented by history ; yet we must not forget that, in a very great degree, things *are* as they are *felt*. A *family man* would say, that such a state of society could afford no fireside comforts ; a *statesman*, that it was equally adverse to national greatness : both would say truly, but not the whole truth. It had its own attractions for a people, as the Irish were—as they are at this day—of few and simple wants, strangers to the spirit of trade, castle-builders without forethought, convivial with their equals, aspiring to familiarity with their superiors, reckless of danger, Stoics in endurance, Cynics in their whimsical contempt of appearances, Epicureans in their relish of the passing hour, and full of airy and buoyant spirits, which shot up, as some trees are said to do, the more vigorously for the pressure of some incumbent weight. By the law of Tanistry, every man of noble blood was eligible to



Such was the system of the Irish chieftains whom Henry the Second found here ; and thenceforward until the reign of James the First, by whom their power was finally broken, it continued rather to degenerate than improve. Through the

the chieffy of his tribe. The law of Gavel-kind was equally liberal of fair promises to every vassal ; it gave him the chance of—the great object of an Irishman's ambition—a *bit of land* : to be sure, it would be only for his own life, but his sons could not hope to be better men than their father, or look for better prospects. In fine, in our Irish world, life was all a lottery, an adventure, a spirit-stirring uncertainty, in which a sanguine and elastic temper found enjoyment by snatches, and excitement always. The cup of expectation went round to every lip, and the visions it conjured up were to be realized by the exercise of a smooth tongue and a sturdy arm ; gifts, in which the Irish were seldom deficient, and which were in themselves, as much sources of self-complacency, as the good things to which they ministered were objects of desire. Besides, it must be remembered, that the vassals were the constituents of their chief and landlord ; a connection not the less intimate from this circumstance, that the hustings of those days were for the most part literally fields of battle. Thus, if harshly treated by the actual great man, they were sure to receive from the aspirant all the blandishments of a canvass ; and, whenever they could muster a majority of battle-axes, might proceed, without further ceremony, to a new election. This mutual clientship and interdependence, between sovereign and subject, lord and serf, though a powerful element of commotion in the social chaos, must have greatly assuaged the sense, if not the reality, of oppression. In particular, it gave rise to two domestic relations, which united without confounding the upper and lower classes ; the noble gave out his children to be nursed by his retainers, and in return, became baptismal sponsor for theirs. These two very innocent and very interesting customs of *fosterage* and *gossipred*, have been described by Sir John Davis in terms of rather absurd reprobation : at all events, however alarming to a politician, they would afford exquisite material for a novelist.

We ought to have a writer of national tales. The Munster Farmer—

Si quà fata aspera rumpat,  
Hic Marcellus erit.

But he is better employed. The author of the Tales of the O'Hara Family is also capable of great things.

whole of that interval, they submitted to an English monarch as they had done before to one of the Milesian line, with the same readiness, the same inconstancy, and the same reservations. They acknowledged him as the centre of their federal union—a theoretic union, which their petty hostilities were constantly violating ; as a superior, whose pre-eminence they attested by a slight tribute or occasional military service, and whose reciprocal good offices they looked for in their difficulties and disputes. This was the amount of his sovereignty : it could not, or would not, be understood by those sturdy lords, that he was to invade their precious right of mutual slaughter, or mitigate the internal anarchy of their dominions.

The great English lords were no less resolute than the Irish, in their opposition to the sovereign and their oppression of the people. Adventurers of reckless and ferocious habits, distinguished from the worst of the native chiefs by nothing but their superior skill in the arts of predatory warfare, they had conquered without the aid of the king, and were determined to govern without his interference. The honorary title of lord of Ireland excited neither their ambition nor their jealousy : perhaps they were pleased with the existence of a claimant, whose rank, while it placed him above competition, extinguished all pretensions to supremacy among themselves, and whose residence in another country left their movements uncontrolled. These dutiful subjects claimed only to be the irre-

sponsible deputies of their master, to enjoy the fulness of sovereign power, each within the circle which his sword had traced :—and from a multitude of causes, they were able to dictate the terms of their contumacious loyalty. Some of them, as the two great branches of the De Burgo family, the Geraldines of Kerry, and the Berminghams, lords of Athenry, renounced the language, laws, and usages of the mother country. They had been smitten with the barbaric circumstance and unlimited sway of the native chieftains : they became chieftains themselves ; assumed Irish appellations, and moulded their motley followers into the form of Irish tribes. Others, retaining the English name and something of English manners, acquired at a less price nearly equal dominion. In the space of thirty years after the first descent, eight palatinates, comprehending two-thirds of the English settlements, were erected in Ireland ; there was afterwards added a ninth, the county of Tipperary, the splendid domain of the earls of Ormond. *Within* these districts, the lords possessed all royal rights, created knights and even barons, appointed their own judges, sheriffs, seneschals, and escheators, collected their own revenues, and held their own courts for the determination of all causes :—*without*, they exercised the detestable prerogative of waging civil war in all quarters of the island. Armed with these enormous powers, they proceeded to reduce or exterminate their own countrymen of the middle class, who had presumed



to set an example of comfort and independence. Many of these fled ; their lands were seized by the lords and parcelled out among the conquered Irish, to be held on Irish tenures : many others surrendered a part of their property, in the hope of being allowed the quiet possession of the remainder ; but this grace was refused, and they were gradually broken in spirit and circumstances to the villanage of the native population.

This was the state of things, in the aboriginal clans, in the revolted septs of Anglo-Irish, and, except within a few garrison towns, in the Counties palatinate, from Henry the Second until James the First. Whether English lords or Irish chieftains obtained a temporary triumph, the mass of the people suffered equally : their tyrants might change, but the tyranny was the same ; the domestic and almost indigenous tyranny of their own primitive customs. A level district round the capital, containing the small shires of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, limited the range of the English law, the jurisdiction of the viceroy, and except on some rare occasions, the ambition of the crown. Far from indulging schemes of more extended authority, the conscious weakness of royalty took refuge in a ludicrous but humiliating fiction ; all beyond this *pomærium* was presumed not to be in existence, and in court language *the land of Ireland* was synonymous with *the Pale*. Of the Pale itself, an ample stripe comprehending a third and sometimes a half of each county, was

*border land* ; in which a mixed code of English, Brehon, and martial law, and of such points of honour as are recognised among freebooters, suspended for a season the final appeal to the sword. Even between these penumbral regions and the castle of Dublin, there lived some little despots, who, according to the turn of affairs, were counsellors, colleagues, or opponents, of the English monarch ; and so late as the reign of Henry the Seventh, the rebel earl of Kildare was taken from the tower of London, “to govern all Ireland, because all Ireland could not govern the earl.”

Many circumstances had conspired to obtain for Henry the Eighth a general submission from the Irish aristocracy ; and his vigorous common sense knew how to appreciate and improve the rare advantage. Cautiously abstaining from precipitate change, he allowed them the temporary use of whatever was most tolerable in their domestic customs ; and in the mean time, endeavoured to prepare the multitude for the reception and enjoyment of more liberal institutions. He founded a system of national education : the schools were to be under the direction of the clergy, and through them, of the state ; the children were to be trained, “to the good and virtuous obedience they owe their prince and superiors, and to receive instruction in the laws of God, with a conformity, concordance, and familiarity, in language and manners, with those that be civil people, and that do profess and know Christ’s religion, and civil

and politic laws, orders and directions." But the haughty spirit of Elizabeth, and the scholastic intellect of James, were equally unfavorable to this temperate procedure. The former was impatient to crush the power of the nobles : she succeeded, and thus removed one formidable obstacle to the enfranchisement of Ireland ; but the rising fabric of national schools was overthrown in the concussions of thirty years of rebellion. The latter overlooked, or perhaps could not estimate, another and greater difficulty, which was thus left in its original force ; the difficulty arising out of the character of a race in which barbarism had been ingrained by immemorial oppression. Like the Irish parliament in 1793, or those good people of the present day who would emancipate the negroes, James mistook manumission for freedom : he left the *habits* while he abolished the *usages*, of the Brehon Code, and transplanted, all at once, the delicate and exotic blossoms of the English Constitution, to a sterner climate and an uncultivated soil. This temerity may be traced through the rest of the century, in a disastrous train of results and reactions ; in the great rebellions, the bloody retribution of the regicide army, the act of settlement, and the unnatural contest of James and William.

When these horrors have cleared away, and the political horizon of Ireland once more discloses a field for extended contemplation, its first appearance is sufficiently novel. Clans and palatinates



had vanished ; the manners, and with few exceptions, the families of the old oligarchy of both races, had become extinct ; the surface of society had been every where broken up, and arranged anew upon the English model ; and nearly the whole proprietary of the island was now a body of British Protestants, of recent transplantation. At a change so striking, one is prompted to imagine that the power and consequent responsibility of England may be dated at least from this æra ; but the impression is weakened by a nearer survey. We can discover, beneath these superficial changes, the original principles of Irish calamity ; a titular sovereign ; a despotic aristocracy ; a population debased, and unfit for freedom if the laws had made them free.

The new race of landlords, English and Scotch adventurers of a revolutionary age, were surcharged with the spirit of the times and countries which had given them birth. Liberty, if not the ruling passion, was at least the prevailing cry, in the greater island, during nearly the whole of the seventeenth century ; an undefined liberty, which the peaceful were willing to limit to freedom from oppression, but the bold *would* interpret into freedom from responsibility. It was only natural that these *new men*, soldiers of fortune, flushed with victory and pampered with its rewards, should cherish the more licentious signification. The liberty which animated their language and their conduct, was a restless, petulant, and ag-

gressive spirit ; liberty *taken* with others as well as vindicated for themselves ; an impatience of restraint and appetite for power. They professed, indeed, to respect England—as their model, not their mistress : though the country of their birth, it was now a foreign state, whose interference would be an insult to their emulous love of freedom ; and in the country of their choice, these fortunate Whigs were exempt from control or competition. On the one side, there was no resident viceroy to offend them by his harmless pageant of monarchy ; on the other, the longevity of the colonial parliament, and the necessary restrictions upon all civil franchises,<sup>a</sup> relieved them from annoyances of a more popular nature. Ireland had as yet no public opinion to shame them into circumspection ; and the constitutional forms which the crown had prematurely given, were a barrier against English influence, behind which they could pursue their domestic schemes. Thus, the circumstances from which they had risen, and those in which they were placed, combined to give them a mixed character, between the baronial insolence of their predecessors in Ireland, and the levelling intolerance of their more honest cotemporaries, who sowed the seeds of democracy on the farther shore of the Atlantic. Ireland under their government was, in its relations with

<sup>a</sup> A parliament lasted for the life of the sovereign :—it was *proved* by the evidence of Dr. Doyle and Mr. O'Connell, before the parliamentary committees, that restrictions *were* necessary.

England, a separate, jealous, and almost hostile power; in its internal economy, an abortive and anomalous *lusus* of political nature, partly a close borough and partly a plantation.

The last flight of these adventurers had scarcely alighted upon the soil, when a novel species of patriotism, “a graft,” as it is aptly called,<sup>a</sup> “of English faction upon an Irish stock,” shot out into a precocious luxuriance of sedition. In the month of October, 1692, within one year from the surrender of Limerick, the Commons of Ireland rejected a money bill, because it had not originated in their house. Many of the members were the well-paid followers of William; the rest had been the destined victims of the sweeping proscription of his rival; the supply was wanted, probably, to pay off the foreign army whose valour had contributed to raise or to uphold them; yet the omission of a doubtful etiquette was fatal to the application of their patron and deliverer. The celebrated “Case of Ireland,” which appeared six years after, led to another and more dangerous controversy between the colony and the mother country. Whatever may have been the merits of these, now fortunately obsolete questions, the daring and obstinate vehemence with which they were maintained by the colonists is abundant proof of the weakness of England. The mass of the population, dissembling their fierce and recently exasperated animos-

<sup>a</sup> By the author of the *Memoirs of Captain Rock*.



sities, were induced, for their own reasons, to favour the intrigues of their new masters :<sup>a</sup> the murmur of independence gradually swelled into a storm, until, in 1724, the æra of Wood's halfpence, and Swift's greatest popularity, it reached the uproar, if not the dignity of a hurricane. But it was far from the intention of those who had excited the commotion, to brave the perils of independence : they had raised a popular clamour that they might be employed to put it down, and that the minister,

<sup>a</sup> After all due credit is given to the factious talents of Swift, it will still remain one of the mysteries of party, that not only Whigs and Jacobites, but Protestants and Roman Catholics, should have joined in the outcry, of which Wood's patent was the ostensible cause. Dr. Curry, sixty years ago, and Mr. Plowden lately, have been very angry with archbishop Boulter for avowing his alarm at this strange coalition. Mr. Hardy is even sentimental in his expressions of regret, "that Protestants and Catholics could not unite in *Christian charity*" without drawing down the censure of a Christian prelate. Finally, the ingenious author of the Memoirs of Captain Rock, who has too much spirit to indulge in the morbid querulousness of Mr. Hardy, has given to *his* complaint the bolder tone of patriotism.

"The affair of Wood's halfpence," says that ingenious gentleman, "though magnified at the time into more than its due importance, is interesting even now, as having been the first national cause round which the people of Ireland had ever been induced to rally. What neither Christian charity nor the dictates of sound policy could effect, an influx of brass halfpence brought about at once; and Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian, uniting for the first time, opposed themselves to their English governors, and triumphed over them and their halfpence. The danger of such a union, momentary and important as it was, to the precious palladium of the Protestant interest, did not escape the observation of those who, as usual, founded that interest on the eternal disunion and division of the people. Accordingly we find primate Boulter complaining thus in a letter to the duke of Newcastle : "I find that the people of every religion, country and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence ; and that their agreement in this has had a most unhappy influence on the state

alarmed for his own or the public safety, might acquiesce in that local despotism which they were labouring to establish. The device succeeded. "It required," as we are told by respectable authority, "the superior good sense of Sir Robert Walpole, his conciliating wisdom, and the result of that wisdom, his pacific system, to effect what he did; and it is a plain proof that he well knew, and duly esti-

of this nation, by bringing on intimacies between Papists and the Whigs, who before had no correspondence with them."

Three pages before, the dashing biographer had written thus of the penal laws: "The penal code, enacted at this period, will for ever remain a monument of the atrocious perfection, to which the art of torturing his fellow-creatures may be brought by civilized man." It was truly, as Burke calls it, "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

These are severe terms: but no language can be too bitter to denounce the refined malignity of the penal system; nor, although its most fiendish characters had been traced long before in the papal canon law, is there any reason to withhold the infamy of originality from our Protestant inquisitors. But the writer might have remembered that these inquisitors were no other than the patriots of the day, the Whig aristocracy of Ireland; that the inhuman measures against the Roman Catholics were their exclusive work; that the English cabinet did all that it dared—all that it *could* do, unless it went the desperate length of interposing the royal Veto—to prevent their enactment; and that when they passed into law, it studied to repress the punctilious ferocity which insisted upon having "its bond" to the letter. Surely then, there was enough in the coalition to startle any observing man.

This one consideration is so abundantly decisive that it is unnecessary to urge a point which the biographer, in his candour, does not hesitate to admit. "The affair of Wood's halfpence was magnified into more than its due importance:" Ireland confessedly wanted a copper currency, and the fallacy of the objections to Wood's coinage was demonstrated by Sir Isaac, then master of the mint. So much for the merits of our first "national cause," and the collective wisdom of "the people of Ireland."

mated, the understanding and temper of those on whose regards Ireland, at that time, rested." These were the Whig aristocracy; whose character is described by the same writer as compounded of "a love of liberty, a thirst of dominion, the spirit of Cromwell's agitators, and a jealous anxiety to secure their new possessions." Walpole's pacific system was in fact, a capitulation with the heads of the party, by which he surrendered to them the internal administration of Irish affairs, with those emoluments of place and patronage which limit the ambition of sordid minds. They were styled the undertakers of the king's business, an ominous title, but most justly applied, "as from education and from habit," said the late lord Charlemont, "they were well fitted to preside at the funeral of the common weal." The floors of parliament were strewn with golden favours, which the chiefs distributed in due gradation among the other lords and principal proprietors. Bounties were voted for the encouragement of agriculture and other local improvements, which, by a process well known to Irish nobles and their agents, returned in the shape of rent into the pockets of the bountiful: magistrates were raised above the laws: grand juries were invested with an indefinite and irresponsible power of taxation: places were multiplied in all the public offices, until the establishments of Ireland grew to a gorgeous magnificence, which mocked the poverty of the state, and the wretchedness of the people. In the mean time the Roman Catholics, left to



writhe under the atrocious code of the aristocracy, had leisure for reflection on their own folly and the duplicity of those whom they had helped to aggrandize.

Nearly thirty years passed away, during which the dominion of this oligarchy was unmolested. At length in 1753, the English ministry repented their inglorious abdication of the government of Ireland: they resolved to introduce a more liberal system, but aware of their own weakness, or perhaps averse to precipitate changes, they at first spoke of no more than a *rotation of offices* among the Irish gentry. The undertakers, on the other hand, had by this time consolidated a very formidable power, and were determined to defend the bulwarks of their profitable monopoly. They presented to the minister a firm parliamentary array, which called itself the Fixed National Interest of Ireland; which in fact comprised a majority of the great proprietors; which had been taught by long possession and the cravings of prodigality, to consider the gains of office as a species of private right; and every member of which, being himself the centre of a minor sphere of corruption, was supported, in his turn, by a host of retainers. A contest ensued, which, with the exception of a few intervals of exhaustion on both sides, was maintained for nearly half a century. In its later stages, discipline improved both the taste and the tactics of the advocates of colonial tyranny; flashes of genius gave occasional brilliancy to the dispute;

popular topics were adroitly pressed into the service of corruption ; and some unexpected incidents arose from time to time, which, even now that their importance is gone for ever, quicken the throbbings in the breast of every Irishman : but the first struggle<sup>a</sup> of the aristocracy was one revolting exhibition of insolent venality. It ended

<sup>a</sup> The pamphlets of the time and the party are preserved in two volumes under the title of "The Patriot Miscellany," which had reached a fourth edition so early as 1756. Ireland had nothing in those days which could be called a public, and the local despots had succeeded in shutting out all communion with the mind of England ; accordingly there is a frankness of avowal in these pieces, which more recent patriotism has found it prudent to disguise. A complete scheme of public profligacy may be constructed out of a few sentences. Thus :

### 1. Rights of the Commons.

"The recommendation to appointment is apparently the unalterable due of the majority of the representative body of the nation."

*Second Letter from a Gentleman in the Country.*

Those who have ever seen lord Clare's magnificent sarcasm upon "the gentlemen who call themselves the Irish nation," will easily understand this language. To others it may be expedient to observe, that the counties, cities, and respectable towns of Ireland are very fairly represented at present by one hundred members ; that the Irish Commons consisted of three hundred ; that of the two hundred borough members discarded at the Union, more than half were the creatures of a few grandees.

### 2. Conduct out of place.

"Will the high born and not less high spirited Protestant gentry of Ireland, always ready to draw their swords for, and devote their lives and fortunes to the service of his majesty, (*i. e.* in modern phrase, *his majesty's opposition*,) tamely look on while all employments, places, and preferments, are distributed among a set of minions and—?"

*Dedication on Dedication.*

without any decisive result. Many of the minor placemen were dismissed from office; but the phalanx was too extensive as well as too firm to be broken at one effort, nor could persons be readily found in Ireland to complete the projected rotation. "The English cabinet," says Mr. Hardy, "acted a wise and moderate part in checking themselves in mid career: they saw the difficulties with which they were surrounded; and though perfectly convinced of the obliquity of many who opposed them, they dreaded the too great success of those who combated on their side." Upon the whole, the advantage as well as the eclat, of victory inclined to the *domestic* government: an earldom with a pension of three thousand a year for thirty-one years, appeased the seditious zeal of the

### 3. Conduct in place.

"Until the new plan (the rotation of offices) was discovered, the gentlemen of the House of Commons were even over-complaisant, and too cautious to give the least rub to the measures of the court."

*Answer to Candid Inquiry.*

"Such incidents in business as had the least tendency to interrupt the quiet of the Session, were connived at, and passed *sub silentio*."

*Dedication on Dedication.*

### 4. A receipt for forming a government.

"You know that in your country, (Ireland,) public matters take their complexion entirely from the ruling interest in the House of Commons; that this interest must always have a few leaders at its head; and that to support it, so as to carry on smoothly and peaceably the public business, the leaders must be invested with a power of gratifying and rewarding.

*Letter from a Right Honorable in England.*

leader ; and his principal associates were continued in their places. "Thus," continues the writer above quoted, "the blaze which had been excited in 1753 was seen no more for a time. The chiefs, who had fanned that flame, were completely gratified by the court, and had not the least inclination to indulge the public with such spectacles, longer than suited their own sinister ambition."<sup>a</sup>

The English cabinet prepared for its next campaign upon a more extensive scale of operations. It was resolved that Ireland should have a resident viceroy and octennial parliaments ; changes highly acceptable to the body of the people, who had begun to look on, with considerable interest, at this conflict between their masters and a distant power, which, now for the first time, was beginning to make itself felt in their local concerns. Both measures were justly dreaded by the oligarchy. The first they had already endeavoured to pervert into a grievance : "How dangerous," cried one of their champions in 1753, "to entrust too much authority to any stranger, who, by constant residence amongst us, may possibly in time subvert the little remains of liberty we enjoy."<sup>b</sup> But the other was now so universally acceptable among those upon whose credulity they traded, that direct opposition was not to be attempted : a system of coquetry was therefore devised, which furnishes no unamusing illustration of the liberality of more

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Hardy, as before.

<sup>b</sup> *Answer to Candid Inquiry*. Patriot Miscellany, i. 138.



recent times. The whole story is thus told by Mr. Hardy:—

“On the 22d of October, 1761, (the first day of the meeting of the new parliament) leave was given to bring in heads of a bill to limit the duration of parliament; but when, on the 9th of December following, it was moved that the lord lieutenant would be pleased to recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his majesty, the motion was negatived by a large majority. This proceeding very justly awakened the suspicions of the people as to the sincerity of their representatives; and the house, perfectly conscious that such suspicions were by no means vague or idle, thought proper to adopt the following very undignified, disingenuous, resolution: “Resolved, that the suggestions confidently propagated, that the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliament, if returned from England, would have been rejected by this house, are without foundation;” 26th of April, 1762. The progress of the bill through the house, in the subsequent session of 1763, was still more languid, and more calculated to awaken, and keep alive, every doubt and suspicion of the people. Leave was given to bring it in on the 13th of October, and it was not presented till the 14th of December following, nor reported till the middle of February. Nothing can more evidently mark the real disposition of the house, towards this very constitutional bill: the people became more importunate than before, and

the house of commons once more passed the bill ; having according to the usage of those days, sent it to the privy council, where the aristocratical leaders were certain it would be thrown into a corner ; nor were they mistaken. If they could have so long combated this measure in an assembly that had, at least, the name and semblance of a popular one, with what facility could they overthrow it in a select body, issuing directly from the crown, and where some members, not of one, but both houses of parliament, would, like confluent streams, direct their united force against it, with a more silent, indeed, and therefore more fatal current. The bill being thus soon overwhelmed, nothing could be done till another session. Once more the people petitioned, and once more the house of commons sent the bill to their good friends the privy council, enjoying, in public, the applause of the nation for having passed it, and, in secret, the notable triumph that it would be so soon destroyed. But here matters assumed a different aspect ; the privy council began to feel that this scene of deception had been long enough played by the commons, and being, with some reason, very much out of humour, that the plaudits of the nation should be bestowed on its representatives, whilst his majesty's privy council, by the artifice of some leaders, was rendered odious to the country, resolved to drop the curtain at once, and certified the bill to the English privy council, satisfied that it would encounter a much

more chilling reception there, than it had met with even from themselves. The aspect of affairs was again changed. The Irish privy council had disappointed the commons ; and the English cabinet now resolved to disappoint and punish both. Enraged with the house of commons for its dissimulation, with the aristocracy for not crushing the bill at once ; and, amid all this confusion and resentment, not a little elated, to have it at length in their power completely to humiliate that aristocracy, which, in the true spirit of useful obsequious servitude, not only galled the people, but sometimes mortified, and controlled the English cabinet itself ; afraid of popular commotions in Ireland ; feeling as English gentlemen, that the Irish public was in the right ; as statesmen, that it would be wise to relinquish at once what, in fact, could be but little longer tenable,—they sacrificed political leaders, privy councillors, and parliament, to their fears, their hatred, their adoption of a new policy, and though last, not the least motive, it is to be hoped, their just sense of the English constitution. They returned the bill, and gave orders for the calling of a new parliament ; which was dissolved the day after the lord lieutenant put an end to the session of 1768.

“ It is impossible not to mention, in this place, an anecdote which I heard from lord Charlemont, as well as others. He happened, at this time to dine with one of the great parliamentary leaders,—a large company, and, as Bubb Dodington says of

some of his dinners with the Pelhams, much drink, and much good humour. In the midst of this festivity, the papers and letters of the last English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room, and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them, when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. "What's the matter?—nothing, we hope, has happened that"—"Happened! (exclaimed their kind host, and swearing most piteously,) Happened! The Octennial Bill is returned." A burst of joy from lord Charlemont, and the very few real friends of the bill, who happened to be present! The majority of the company, confused, and, indeed almost astounded, began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had, session after session, openly voted for this bill, with many an internal curse, heaven knows! But still they had been its loudest advocates; and that, therefore, it would be somewhat decorous, not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumph. In consequence of these politic reflections they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the awkwardness of assumed felicity. "The bill is not only returned," continued their chieftain, "but—the parliament is dissolved!" "Dissolved! dissolved! Why dissolved?" "My good friends, I can't tell you why, or wherefore; but dissolved it is, or will be directly."



“Hypocrisy, far more disciplined than their’s, could lend its aid no further. If the first intelligence which they heard was tolerably doleful, this was complete discomfiture. They sunk into taciturnity, and the leaders began to look, in fact, what they had so often been politically called—a company of undertakers. They had assisted at the parliamentary funeral of some opponents, and now like Charles the Fifth, though without his satiety of worldly vanities, they were to assist at their own. In the return of this fatal bill was their political existence completely inurned. Lord Charlemont took advantage of their silent mood, and quietly withdrew from this group of statesmen, than whom a more ridiculous, rueful set of personages, in his life, he said, he never beheld.”<sup>a</sup>

If the passing of the Octennial Bill was calculated to reduce, ultimately, the power of the aris-

<sup>a</sup> If we read “house of lords” for “privy council” in this curious passage, we have a lively picture of some recent scenes, the more entertaining to the principal actors, as the catastrophe appears to be postponed indefinitely. A seat in a certain great assembly is, for many good reasons, valuable to several, at present, highly privileged gentlemen, who can acquire and retain places on comparatively easy terms, while the philanthropy of one quarter is neutralized by the convenient prejudices of another. But were this happy equilibrium in danger of being disturbed, many “sudden conversions” would take place among the prudent. Justly ambitious of popularity as long as it can be had at a reasonable rate, it cannot yet be supposed that they would fulfil the sanguine expectations of men who already consider them as holding places provisionally. They know that if the attainment of *eligibility* be an object worthy of spiritual interference, the actual achievement of *election* would call forth much greater exertions; and they have learned, by their own observations as well as the mortifying experience of their predecessors, not to trust too far to the good offices of their opponents.

tocracy, the dissolution of parliament enabled them, for the present, to maintain a furious contest. While those rueful malcontents who had been for ever ejected, were employed out of doors in swelling the clamour against English tyranny, the more wealthy, who had purchased re-admission, went in resolved to avenge or to recompense their losses. Of more than two hundred borough members, a considerable majority<sup>a</sup> were the vassals of titled chieftains; who could now, without waiting for the tardy demise of the crown or exposing their venal retainers to too long a temptation, recruit the ranks and revenues of opposition. In the new parliament, the disputes which had agitated the reigns of William and Anne, were revived, and attended with similar results. A money bill was introduced, according to the constitution, from the privy council into the commons; it was rejected, in conformity to the rules of that assembly; and the viceroy, like his predecessor of 1692, entered his disregarded protest upon the journals of the upper house. Mr. Grattan trod in the steps of Molyneux, with higher fame and fortune than his more moderate precursor;

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Hardy says simply *the majority*; Mr. Grattan seems to say *the whole*, when he informs us that in the course of time the boroughs had passed from the hands of the minister to those of *the people*. It was the lot of Mr. Grattan to be reduced to give the title of "the people" to every class successively, which opposed the wholesome control of England; first, the Whig aristocracy; then the Protestant barbers of our petty towns; and at length, the mob. If it were worth while to notice the inconsistencies of party, one might observe, that while this gentleman upheld the borough members as representatives of *the people*, he insisted on the necessity of a reform in parliament.

and Ireland was shaken by another storm of independence. But though the chiefs affected to guide themselves by precedent, the independence at which they aimed was of a more refined and perilous character, than any which had yet stimulated the desires of the Anglo-Irish. Of separation, indeed, they did not think ; and for the same good reasons, which, during six centuries, had deterred their predecessors from refusing a nominal homage to the crown of the mother country. Like them, these modern lords sought the uncontrolled management of Irish affairs, and the protection, without the restraint, of England : but their views had expanded from municipal regulations to questions of external and international policy. They maintained that the crown of Ireland was *imperial*, reserving to *themselves* the powers of administration, unclogged by ministerial responsibility : they demanded a *free trade*, of which they were to have the sole direction ; they insisted on a *free parliament*, in both houses of which, by themselves or their nominees, they already constituted an efficient majority. Men who could suppose that an English cabinet would acquiesce in all these pretensions, or that, if England were passive, their project would not be overborne by its own innate violence, must have been ignorant of human nature, as well as of the commonest maxims of statesmen. But, however extravagant their scheme, the ferment they had excited, and the earlier annals of their order, suggested an expedient, which obtained for

it a momentary and noisy triumph. In the bold but apposite language of an orator of the time, discord sowed her dragon's teeth in the country, and the furrows bristled with armed men. The ancient clansmen seemed to have returned to life, in the more orderly array of a hundred thousand volunteers : this formidable reserve protected and invigorated the parliamentary operations : the colony was declared a nation at the point of the bayonet ; a bayonet which would not have been bloodless, had the chiefs dared to try the liberty in which they affected to glory, or England, to resent the insolence of her unnatural children.

The aristocracy had now attained their objects, and would gladly have arrested the progress of Revolution. But, with the contempt observable in demagogues of all classes for the common sense and feelings of mankind, they had inculcated principles which they feared to follow, and roused tempestuous passions, which they had not the power either to gratify or to subdue. The reins of faction dropt from their hands, to be caught by a new race of patriots, whose humbler rank and bolder character made consistency more easy, and whose headlong career filled some with consternation, while it sustained the excited enthusiasm of the multitude. The volunteers, from being the instruments of oligarchical ambition, came to be considered, or to consider themselves, as "the armed majesty of the people ;" and the people began to infer that poverty, subordination, and



the payment of rents or taxes, were so many species of suicidal high treason. Conventionists, United Irishmen, and those to whom, by a rather capricious distinction, custom has appropriated the title of rebels, succeeded to the volunteers, in unpremeditated, but not unnatural, order. Every thing seemed to proclaim to the dismayed nobles, the disastrous nature of the victory they had achieved. They had left but one bond of connection between the islands, the diadem of the sovereign: its weakness had been already proved by the question of the regency; and were it to snap asunder, their ruin was inevitable. Thus fear at length banished these glittering illusions which had so long fascinated the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. But powerless and almost hopeless as they now were, they retained to the last moment the arrogance and the corruption which had ever been the ruling passions of the order: they practised on the generosity of the English minister, while they panted for his protection; and their parliament was carried off by a surfeit of those good things on which it had battered for a century.

DAVIS informs us of the old Anglo-Irish nobles, "that they could hardly endure that the crown of England should have any jurisdiction over them, but drew all the respect and dependence of the natives unto themselves:"<sup>a</sup> in precisely the same manner, from the Revolution to the Union, these

<sup>a</sup> Discovery, p. 100.

Whig lords had obstructed all salutary communication between the people of Ireland and the centre of the British system. If, during that time the country was misgoverned ; if it had darkness instead of light and perturbation instead of order ; reason would of itself suggest the conclusion, that the evil was not to be ascribed to the central power, but to the irregular influences of the interposing body. But we are not without more direct evidence. From the multitude of instances which might be adduced, two only, which will shew how fully this last dynasty of our nobles had imbibed the spirit of its predecessors, can be inserted here : stronger could not be looked for, and weaker would be superfluous.

After the Revolution, the old distinction of English and Irish merged in that of Protestant and Roman Catholic : names were altered, but the feelings, circumstances and character of the two classes experienced little change. One striking specimen for each class, will illustrate the conduct of the aristocracy.

1. Towards the Irish, or Roman Catholic population.

Earlier policy. “ For three hundred and fifty years at least after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed to them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. They might not converse or commerce with any civil men, nor enter into any

town or city without peril of their lives: they might not purchase estates of freehold or inheritance which might descend to their children according to the course of our common law. The natives being in the condition of slaves and villains were *more profitable* to the lords, than if they had been the king's free subjects. Those great English lords did, to *the uttermost of their power, cross and withstand* the enfranchisement of the Irish for the causes before expressed: Wherein I must still acquit the crown and state of England of negligence or ill policy, and *lay the fault upon the pride, covetousness and ill counsel of the English planted here*, which in all ages have been the chief impediments of the final conquest of Ireland." <sup>a</sup>

Later policy. We are told by bishop Burnet that when the project of the atrocious penal code was sent over to London, in the shape of a bill, for the royal approbation, "the English ministry introduced a clause which the Roman Catholics hoped would hinder its being accepted in Ireland. The matter was carried on so secretly, that it was known to none but those who were at the council, till the news of it came from Ireland, upon its being sent thither. The clause was to this purpose, that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the test act passed in

<sup>a</sup> Davis, 84, 103, &c.

England; which before this time had never been offered to the Irish nation. It was hoped, by those who got this clause added to the bill, *that those in Ireland, who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a weight hung to it.*"<sup>a</sup> These promoters of persecution were the Whig aristocracy, many of whom, persons of great wealth and influence, were dissenters themselves as well as extensively connected with the Ulster Presbyterians. Being enabled, some, by the wearing away of their prejudices, to comply with the sacramental test, and the rest, by their power, to elude or to defy the threatened consequences of refusal, they baffled the humane device of the cabinet; and the bill passed into a law. By the provisions of this nefarious act, the Irish were once more cut off "from commerce with civil men," "from freeholds, inheritance, purchasing estates," or acquiring landed property in any manner whatsoever: in a word they were brought back to that "condition of slaves and villains,"<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *History of his own Times*, ii. 214. This, it will be remembered, is the testimony of a Whig.

<sup>b</sup> To complete the parallel, their minds were left in that unreclaimed state which seemed best to correspond with their circumstances. King William, indeed, made an effort to revive the plan of national schools; but, by that fatality which seems to thwart every measure intended for the real welfare of Ireland, his statute was never put into execution. A glorious opportunity has been given to the present Commissioners of Education, of the value of which, to the country and their own good name, it does not appear that they are yet sensible. But it is not too late: they have only to fling aside sectarian prejudices, and follow the example of Mr. Brougham, who, with the magnanimity of genius, has done a great constitutional justice to the church of England.



which the hard hearts and narrow policy of their old tyrants, of both races, had regarded as so profitable. In our own times, the increase of population and the struggling competition—too frequently indeed, the mortal strife—for land and employment, have secured to the lords all that was profitable in the penal code, while by consenting to its repeal they have acquired at a cheap rate the doubtful praise of liberality; praise, which if ever *the* crisis shall arrive—and they seem disposed to hasten it—they may discover to have had more than the bitterness of “satire in disguise.”

The biographer of Captain Rock gives some valuable collateral evidence on this subject.

“The tithe of agistment, the least objectionable of any, as falling upon that class of occupiers which could best afford to pay it, was, nevertheless, considered by the land proprietors (who were of Falstaff’s opinion, that “base is the slave that pays,”) a burden not fit for gentlemen to bear. They accordingly abolished it—at the same time assuring the clergy, whom they thus despoiled of their most profitable tithe, that it was all for the “Protestant interest” they did so; and handing them over for their support to the “tillers of the land,” and to those wretched cottiers—the very poorest of poverty’s children—upon whom the burthen of the Protestant establishment has, ever since, principally lain.

“The consequences of this vote to me and my family, and the increased sphere of activity which

it has opened to us, may be judged from the events of the last sixty years.”—*Memoirs*, 132.<sup>a</sup>

And lord Charlemont, a nobleman whose political creed does not diminish the value of his acknowledgment.

“ At this time, 1761, when we were involved in a war with Spain, the Portuguese, then esteemed the natural allies of Great Britain, had warmly solicited some effectual and permanent aid from the English court, and a plan was formed to comply with their request, by suffering them to

<sup>a</sup> As evidence so unsuspecting must help to give credibility even to the words of an archbishop, the following passage is subjoined from primate Boulter :

“ Without this tithe there are whole parishes where there is no provision for the minister : yet we do not desire to be judges, but that our rights may stand on the same bottom as those of other subjects, and the judges not be intimidated by votes of either house of parliament from doing us justice, if we seek for it. A great part of the gentry entered into associations not to pay for agistment to the clergy, and to make a common purse in each county to support any one there that should be sued for agistment, and were understood by the common people every where to be ready to distress the clergy all manner of ways in their other rights, if they offered to sue for agistment. I have in vain represented to several of them that in the south and west of Ireland, by destroying the tithe of agistment, they naturally destroy tillage, and thereby lessen the number of people, and raise the price of provisions, and render those provinces incapable of carrying on the linen manufacture, for which they so much envy the north of this kingdom. It is certain, that by running into cattle the numbers of people are decreasing in those parts, and most of their youth out of business, and disposed to list in foreign service for bread, as there is no employment for them at home, where two or three hands can look after some hundreds of acres stocked with cattle ; by this means too, a *great part of our churches are neglected*, in many places, five, six, or seven parishes (denominations we commonly call them,) bestowed on one incumbent, who perhaps with all his tithes scarce gets an hundred a year. And

raise, among the Catholics of Ireland, six regiments, to be officered with Irish gentlemen of the same persuasion, and taken into the pay of Portugal. To this effect a motion was made in the house of commons, by secretary Hamilton, and supported by a torrent of eloquence which bore down all before it.—The measure, however, was warmly opposed; the danger was alleged of suffering so great a number of Catholics to be arrayed, armed, and disciplined, who, though in a distant and friendly service, might, at some unforeseen, but possible crisis, return to their native land, to the manifest danger of the Protestant interest in

how far and to what other purposes such associations may in time extend, I do not pretend to judge, but I find in some counties they already begin to form associations against what they own due to the clergy, but they are encouraged by the success of this first attempt to go on to further steps. The humour of clans and confederacies is neither so well understood nor felt in England as it is here:—some gentlemen have let their lands so high, that without robbing the clergy of their just dues, they are satisfied their rents can hardly be paid; and others fall in with them, that they may be able to raise their lands as high; and the controversy here is, not whether the farmer shall be eased of an unreasonable burthen, but whether the parson shall have his due, or the land lord a greater rent. Some hope they might come in for plunder if the bishops were stripped.”

The emigrants, it must be observed, were nearly all of the church of England. The Roman Catholics clung to the soil with a tenacity alarming to the few who reflected on its cause, but highly acceptable to that blind and rapacious prodigality which wished for a tenantry of “slaves and villains.” Thus the vote of the Irish commons against the tithe of agistment was a double persecution of Protestantism; on the one hand, banishing the laity, on the other, shutting up the churches and reducing the number of the clergy: by the combined action of these two causes, the church and the state were despoiled of a most valuable population in the south and west of Ireland.

church and state. It was also said, that Ireland could not spare so many of her inhabitants; that the south and west, where these recruits would principally be raised, were thinly peopled; and that the cultivation of those countries would be checked, if not entirely annihilated. The bigotted zeal, which evidently appeared to be the basis of the opposition, undoubtedly added strength to my wishes. The loss of inhabitants was not much; the defalcation of three thousand men could scarcely be supposed capable of annihilating the cultivation of two great provinces; neither did *they* seem well entitled to the benefit of this argument, by whose oppression double the number was annually compelled to emigration; and it was but too evident, that *a principle of the most detestable nature lay hidden under this specious mode of reasoning.* The Protestant Bashaws of the south and west, were loth to resign so many of those wretches, whom they looked upon, and treated, as their slaves.”<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Life of Charlemont*, 67. Lord Charlemont passed an unnecessary censure upon these commoners, when he accused them of bigotry; his last sentence assigns an easy and adequate solution of their conduct. As every thing is of some value which tends to set men right with each other, it may be useful to observe, that the earliest, the most disinterested, the only *perfectly unsuspecting* movements in favour of the Roman Catholics, were made by men who conscientiously shrunk from imposing on them the responsibilities of civil power, as persons under the disturbing influence of an external and possibly hostile force. The great impulse was given by our late good monarch, who regarded all his subjects with the feeling of a christian father; the first measures of relief were proposed, in Ireland by lord Charlemont, in England by Sir George Saville and Mr. Dunning.



## 2. Towards the English or Protestant population.

Earlier policy.—Sir John Davis quotes an Irish statute, of the 10th Henry the Seventh.

“Whereas of long time there hath been used and exacted by the lords and gentlemen of this land, many and divers damnable customs and usages, which been called Coigne and Livery, and pay for their horsemen and footmen ; and besides, many murders, robberies, rapes, &c. ; and other manifold extortions and oppressions, by the said horsemen and footmen dayly and nightly committed and done ; which been the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of said land, and have brought the same into ruin and decay, *so as the most part of the English freeholders and tenants of this land been departed out thereof*, some into the realm of England, and other some to strange lands ; whereupon the foresaid lords and gentlemen have *intruded into the said freeholders’ and tenants’ inheritances, and setten under them in the same* the kings Irish enemies, to the diminishing of holie church’s rites, the disinherison of the king and his obedient subjects, and the utter ruin and desolation of the land.”

In another passage Davis writes thus : “This most wicked and mischievous extortion was originally Irish, for the chiefs used to lay bonaght upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But when the English lords had learned it, they used it with more insolency and made it more intolerable ; for this oppression

was not temporary, or limited either to place or time ; but because there was every where a continual war, either offensive or defensive ; and every lord of a country, and every marcher made war and peace at pleasure ; it became universal and perpetual ; and indeed was the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any christian, or heathen kingdom, and therefore vox oppressorum, this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous were but of a short continuance. But the plagues of Ireland, lasted 400 years together. This extortion of Coigne and Livery, did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste ; next, it made the people idle. For when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night did consume the fruits of his labour ; had he reason then to manure the land for the next year ? hereupon of necessity came *depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects* ; and such as remained became idle, and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times. Lastly, this oppression did of force and necessity make the Irish a crafty people : for such as are oppressed and live in slavery, are ever put to their shifts ; and therefore in the old comedies of Plautus and Terence, the bond slave doth always act the cunning and crafty part."

We have a similar testimony from baron Finglass, in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

“ *Item*, In the aforesaid manner for the lack of punishment of the great lords of Munster by ministration of justice, they by the extortion of Coyne and Livery, and other abusions, have *expelled all the English freeholders and inhabitants* out of Munster, so that in fifty years past was none there obedient to the king’s laws, except the cities and walled towns ; *and so this hath been the decay of Munster.*”

Later Policy.—“ The Londoners found the natives willing to overgive, rather than to remove, and that *they could not reap half the profit by the British which they do by the Irish, whom they use at their pleasure, never looking into the reasons which induced the natives to give more than indeed they could well raise*, their assured hope that time might, by rebellion, relieve them of their heavy landlords, whom in the mean time they were contented to suffer under, though to their utter impoverishing and undoing. Thus they slighted, for their private profit sake, the planting of religion and civility, (the seeds of peace and plenty) which his majesty especially sought to sow for God’s service, and the safety of the country. So as what his majesty intended should have been a terror to his enemies for looking into that kingdom, is now become a bait to invite them thither, where the chief tenants and inhabitants, being Irish, are prepared to entertain them.” *Sir Thos. Philips’s*

*Letter to Charles the First. Harris's Hibernica,*  
vol. 1.

Similarly in Pinner's Survey of Ulster.

“No. 132.—The earl of Castlehaven hath three thousand acres. Upon this proportion there is no building at all, neither freeholders. I find some few English families, but they have no estates, for since the old earl died, the tenants, as they tell me, cannot have their leases made good unto them, unless they will give treble the rent which they paid, and yet they must have put half the land which they enjoyed in the late earl's time :—all the rest of the land is inhabited with Irish.”

And again.—“Nos. 133, 134, 135.—The earl of Castlehaven hath six thousand acres. The agent of the earl showed me the rent roll of all the tenants that are on these three proportions; but their estates are so weak and uncertain that they are all leaving the land. There were in number sixty four, and each of them holds sixty acres. The rest of the land (two thousand one hundred and sixty acres,) is let to twenty Irish gentlemen, contrary to the articles of plantation, and these Irish gentlemen have under them about *three thousand souls of all sorts.*”

Here is a pregnant specimen of Anglo-Irish liberality, and the effects which, under circumstances favourable to their development, it will inevitably produce. Lord Castlehaven had very peculiar claims to popularity in Ireland: a Roman Catholic himself, as well as a champion of Roman Catholics,



he was also a brave man and a soldier; in the great rebellion he commanded a division of the "Catholic army," until he took fright at the progress of the cause, and his religious zeal was subdued by the love of his nine thousand acres. Now how did this professed liberalist display his patriotism upon his own estate? Why, he ejected his English farmers, because they would not pay treble their former rent for half their former holdings; he encouraged a race of middlemen; he stocked his land with droves of the miserable natives at the rate of three head to two acres. They brought him present profit, and accordingly he was their patron, he spoke for them, he fought for them: they submitted to be treated as the beasts of the field, and he fancied that they had lost the feelings of humanity, the sense of indignity and oppression, and the desire of a great revenge:—he discovered his mistake, and then he spoke and fought against them. It will be remembered that the "Irish gentlemen," and those English who followed their example, continued to force a barbarous system of husbandry upon the poverty of their wretched retainers. Thus we find in Pinner; "No. 160. Tirlagh O'Neil hath 4000 acres. He hath made no estates to his tenants, and they all do plough *after the Irish manner.*"

A century after the great rebellion, we find the aristocracy pursuing the same heartless and perilous career. A pamphlet published in the year 1746 gives the following account of the landlords of the

day, the same men, it will be observed, who plundered the clergy for the good of the church.

“ *Popish tenants are daily preferred, and Protestants rejected*, either for the sake of swelling a rental, or adding some mean duties which Protestants will not submit to ; but the greatest mischief in this way is done by a class of men whom I will call land-jobbers. Land-jobbers have introduced for farmers the lowest sort of Papists, who were employed formerly as labourers, while the lands were occupied by substantial Protestants : but since potatoes have grown so much in credit, and burning the ground has become so fashionable, (a manure so easily and readily acquired,) these cottagers, who set no value on their labour, scorn to be servants longer, but fancy themselves in the degree of masters as soon as they can accomplish the planting an acre of potatoes. One of this description not being able singly to occupy any considerable quantity of ground, twelve or twenty of them, and sometimes more, cast their eyes on a plowland occupied by many industrious Protestants ; who, from a common ancestor, planted there, perhaps, one hundred years before, have swarmed into many stocks, built houses, made various improvements, and nursed the land, in expectation of being favoured by their landlord in a new lease. These cottagers seeing the flourishing condition of this colony, the warm plight of the houses, but especially the strong sod on the earth, made so by various composts col-

lected with much toil and care, and which secures to them a long continuance of their beloved destructive manure made by burning the green sward ; engage some neighbour to take this plowland, and all jointly bind themselves to become under-tenants to the land-jobber, and to pay him an immoderate rent. This encourages him to outbid the unhappy Protestants, and the great advance in the rent tempts the avaricious, and ill judging landlord to accept his proposal. The Protestants being thus driven out of their settlements, transport themselves, their families and effects, to America ; there to meet a more hospitable reception amongst strangers to their persons, but friends to their religion and civil principles.”

“ Notwithstanding this dismal relation of the evil consequences of so mean a traffic, (for the truth of which I appeal to all who know the condition of the country,) the present profit is so sweet, that many proprietors grudge the land-jobber his fag-rent, and are grown so cunning that they set the land originally to the mean cottagers, and so take the whole price for a season : not once reflecting that their sons will not have by this ruinous practice, an estate near so valuable as that they received from their fathers.”

“ Some endeavour to excuse themselves by saying that Protestant tenants cannot be had. They may thank themselves if that be true ; for they have helped to banish them by not receiving them when they might. But it is to be hoped we are not yet

so distressed. Those who have the reputation of good landlords, and encouragers of Protestants, never want them: But *there is a Protestant price and a Popish price for land*; and he who will have valuable Protestants on his estate, must depart from his popish price. Here I fear the matter will stick. It will be as hard to persuade a gentleman to fall from one thousand pounds a year to eight hundred, as it was to prevail on the lawyer in the gospel, to sell all and save his soul."

It is now easy to appreciate the policy of our great proprietors in the eighteenth century. The established church was discountenanced for two reasons: its possessions attracted their cupidity; its principles laid the foundations of the public weal in moderation on the part of the rulers, and, on the part of the people, in a regulated love of freedom and a judgment exercised in the discrimination of right and wrong. Protestants had a self-respect, a taste for comfort and independence, which rendered them unacceptable: many of them fled from persecution; many of those who remained, deprived of the consolations of their own church, broken in spirit and fortune, and attracted by those gregarious sympathies which act so powerfully upon persons thus reduced, sunk into the religion as well as the habits of their new associates. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, were cherished as a tenantry: their lords perceived, or imagined, many advantages, in the encouragement of a race, whose desires had never been suffered to rise above the cravings of



animal nature. It is a curious circumstance, one indeed that deserves to be recorded in the natural history of the mind, that while the aristocracy were thus multiplying their enemies and banishing their protectors, they trembled with the fear of an insurrection, which, as appears from the journals of the Irish Commons, the priesthood was then organizing in favour of the Pretender. The great rebellion had warned them, that though the Irish might say with Zanga,

Born for your use, I live but to obey you ;

they could, like him, treasure up the remembrance of all real or fancied indignities against a day of devastating retribution. Yet in the conflict of base passions, the thirst of sudden gain and barbarous authority prevailed over terror, and the daily hazard of a Servile War was preferred to that repose which encircles the mansion of an English landlord. By this unnatural process was formed that portentous creature which is called the Catholic Body ; a being, like the man in Frankenstein, at once pitiable and fearful ; gigantic in its physical dimensions, but unfitted by the kindly influences of nature or habit for the communion of civilized life.

Instances might have been readily found, which would have given these remarks a more pointed application. Unhappily, the annual cry of famine and pestilential disease which rises from three-fourths of our fertile island, and the annual emi-

gration, from every port, of our Protestants to America, are facts which render it unnecessary to continue the sketch to the present time:—the subject shall therefore be dismissed with one further observation. Deprived, by the priests and the Union, of much of their local power, the great Irish proprietors have been diligent in building up authority elsewhere, and are now in possession of a commanding influence in the cabinet and the legislature of the united kingdom. Passing events seem to render it probable, that on *them* it will mainly depend, whether Ireland is at length to have the benefit of English connection, or whether Spenser's mournful prediction shall be accomplished, and England experience the disastrous consequences of a connection with Ireland. Which of these results is the more likely? Already has a parliamentary committee recorded its grave conviction, that the flood of Irish misery is overflowing upon England; a flood which has been caused by the system of the aristocracy, and which will continue to pour forth its desolating waters unless that system be for ever abolished. The course, therefore, which may be pursued henceforward by the "sixty-nine peers" and their associates, is a matter of deep and awful moment: when one reflects on the mighty interests, spiritual and temporal, which appear to be involved in it, the words of the Jewish lawgiver, "Behold I have set before thee a blessing and a curse," are scarcely more than applicable to the momentous alternative. "A blessing,"

if by excluding foreign influence, by coercing demagogues, by allowing the growth of domestic enjoyments, by instituting a sound system of national instruction and supporting the exertions of the established clergy, they educate the people up to the appreciation of British privileges :—" a curse," if they sacrifice the church to a selfish liberalism ; if they debase the pure and elevated principles of the old English nobility by an infusion of the spirit of a colonial House of Assembly ; if they break up the hereditary comforts of the English yeomanry by the poverty, the popery, the squalid habits, the ferocious combinations, which have so long been the disgrace and the calamity of Ireland.

THE  
HISTORY

OF THE  
POLICY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME  
IN  
IRELAND.

---

CHAPTER I.

*From Henry the 2d. to Edward the 6th.*

THE connection of this country with the crown of England originated in a compact between Henry Plantagenet, pope Adrian the Fourth, and the Irish prelates of the day. This treaty would be memorable, if it had no other claim to the consideration of posterity than the hypocrisy, the injustice, and the mutual treachery of the parties : but their views and pretensions, descending regularly to their successors, and exerting a constant influence upon Irish affairs, make it an object of nearer interest. Without attention to these, it is impossible either to unravel the history of Ireland, or to judge correctly of its state at the present crisis.

A. D.  
1155.  
}



A. D.  
1155.

To the pope, the transaction was fraught with unmingled triumph. On the one side, an artful and refractory sovereign, who had hitherto scandalized the faith of Christendom by his contumacious disobedience, crouched in abject submission before the chair of Peter : on the other, an island, beyond the limits of the Roman world, bowed to him as the supreme arbiter of her destiny, and quietly received a foreign governor at his hands. The claims of Rome to spiritual and to temporal authority in Ireland, had arisen together about eighty years before. First advanced by the daring ambition of Gregory the Seventh, pressed by the wily pertinacity of his successors, admitted by the simplicity of some of the hierarchy and the corrupt poverty of others ; they made slow and unnoticed progress, amidst the dissensions of a rude chieftainry, and the torpid ignorance of an enslaved population. Adrian now enjoyed the mature fruit of all these advantages, and challenged, without contradiction, the supreme dominion of Ireland. The chance of inquiry into his title or his proceedings, gave the father, probably, but little concern : it was the age of the Albigenses ; all inquiry was heresy, and heresy was chastised by the sword of the crusader : at least, his dear son Henry, who was to govern the island under him, would have enough both of power and motive to maintain the royalties of the holy see.<sup>a</sup> He sent a ring of in

<sup>a</sup> See *A Digest of Evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committees*, vol. ii. chap. 2.

vestiture to the English monarch,<sup>a</sup> together with the following letter.

A. D.  
1155.

“Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolical benediction.

“Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the desire of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven; while as a catholic prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the church, instructing the rude and ignorant in the truth of the Christian faith, exterminating vice from the vineyard of the Lord; and,

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Davis's *Discovery of the true Cause why Ireland was never subdued*, page 15. In a recent speech at the Roman Catholic Association in Dublin, the following account was given of the landing of Henry to take possession of his new territories. “It was on the evening of the 23d of August, 1172, that the first hostile English footstep pressed the soil of Ireland. It is said to have been a sweet and mild evening, when the invading party entered the noble estuary formed by the conflux of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, at the city of Waterford. Accursed be that day in the memory of all future generations of Irishmen, when the invaders first touched our shores! They came to a nation famous for its love of learning, its piety, and its heroism,—they came when internal dissensions separated her sons and wasted their energies. Internal traitors led on the invaders—her sons fell in no fight—her liberties were crushed in no battle; but domestic treason and foreign invaders doomed Ireland to seven centuries of oppression.”—*Dublin Evening Mail*, Friday, November 17th. With the slight mistakes of 1172 for 1171, and of August for October, Mr. O'Connell's description is as accurate as, perhaps, it could have been rendered without injury to his eloquence. The independence of Ireland was not crushed in battle, but quietly sold in the synods of the prelates, those internal traitors to whom the orator alluded, but whom he was much too prudent to name. “The professed design of Henry's expedition,” says Leland, “was not to conquer, but to take possession of an island granted him by the pope.”—*History of Ireland*, i. 69.

A. D.  
1155.

for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favor of the apostolic see. In which the more mature your deliberation and more discreet your conduct, so much the happier, with the assistance of the Lord, will be your progress; as all things which take their beginning from the ardor of faith and love of religion, are wont to come to a prosperous issue.

“There is indeed, no doubt, as your highness also doth acknowledge, that Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ the sun of righteousness hath shone, do belong to the patrimony of St. Peter and the holy Roman church. Therefore, are we the more solicitous to propagate in that land the godly scion of faith, as we have the secret monition of conscience that such is more especially our bounden duty.

“You then, most dear son in Christ, have signified unto us your desire to enter into that land of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws, and extirpate the seeds of vice: you have also declared that you are willing to pay from each house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of said land, whole and inviolate. We therefore, with that grace and acceptance suited to your pious and praiseworthy design, and favorably assenting to your petition, do hold it right and good, that, for the extension of the borders of the church, the restraining of vice, the correction of manners, the planting of virtue and

increase of religion, you enter the said island, and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honor of God and the welfare of the land ; and that the people of said land receive you honorably and reverence you as their lord ; saving always the rights of the churches, and reserving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny upon every house.

A. D.  
1155.



“If then you be resolved to carry this design into effectual execution, study to form the nation to virtuous manners ; and labour, by yourself, and by others whom you may judge meet for the work, in faith, word, and action, that the church may be there exalted, the christian faith planted, and all things so ordered for the honor of God and the salvation of souls, that you may be entitled to a fulness of reward in heaven, and on earth, to a glorious renown throughout all ages.”

This conveyance was made to Henry in 1155, and by him communicated to the Irish hierarchy. The negociation between them was conducted secretly for some years, until circumstances had effected a lodgement for the English arms in Ireland ; the brief was then publicly read at the synod of Cashel, with this confirmatory letter from pope Alexander the Third :

1171

“Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son the noble king of England, health, grace, and apostolical benediction.—Forasmuch as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed, we, well



A. D.  
1171.

pondering and considering the grant and privilege for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland, to us appertaining, and lately given by our predecessor Adrian, do in like manner confirm, ratify, and allow the same; provided that there be reserved and paid to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, both in England and in Ireland: provided also that the barbarous people of Ireland be by your means reformed, and recovered from their filthy life and abominable manners, that as in name, so in conduct and conversation, they may become Christians; provided further, that that rude and disordered church being by you reformed, the whole nation may, together with the profession of the faith, be in act and deed followers of the same."

1175. Four years after, these two edicts were again solemnly promulged by a synod held at Waterford; Henry was formally proclaimed lord of Ireland, and the severest censures of the church denounced against all who should impeach the donation of the holy see, or oppose the government of its illustrious representative.<sup>a</sup>—From that period to the Refor-

<sup>a</sup> O'Connor's *Historical Address*, i. 65, 86. Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iv. 222. The Irish annalists of those days are fond of styling Henry *the son of the empress*, as if the grandeur of the name consoled them for the loss of independence.—A French writer accounts for the coalition between Adrian, Henry, and the Irish prelates, in a manner not generally known: his solution partakes somewhat of the levity of his country, yet, at least in the present day, is not altogether unworthy of grave consideration. "Les Irlandois, ne voulant endurer leurs prestres sans avoir leurs femmes avec eux, furent

A. D.  
1175.

mation, the English monarchs, and the little parliament of the pale, unable to maintain their pretensions by the sword, appealed to the sacredness of these papal grants; and thus gave the weight of four centuries to an authority, which was ultimately to be turned against themselves.<sup>a</sup>

The conduct of Henry on this occasion is a memorable instance of the meanness and inconsistency of ambition. Cordially returning the hatred of the Vatican, and resolved to disencumber his crown of its patronage, he yet sought to entangle himself in new engagements to that artful court: he declared himself the vassal of the holy see, applied for permission to enter Ireland, and gave a faithless assent to those humiliating terms upon which the pontiffs condescended to his desire. When he discovered that St. Peter had as yet but little influence in the internal affairs of Ireland, he defrauded the apostle without ceremony, delaying, diminishing, or withholding altogether, the stipulated tribute, as suited his caprice or parsimonious convenience.<sup>b</sup>

cette année, déclarés rebelles et hérétiques par le pape Adrian; qui aussi donnoit charge au Roi d'Angleterre de les guerrouer à toute outrance; en vertude quoy, il mena uné armée contre eux, qui les subjuga, et contraignit de se sousmettre á sa volonté." Vignier, quoted by Campbell, *Strictures on the History of Ireland*, 231.

<sup>a</sup> Leland, 2. *Appendix*; note c.

<sup>b</sup> The saint however, or his successor, contrived to obtain ample compensation from the clergy, who, in their turn, drew largely on the people: the popes had a regular treasury chamber (*Camera Apostolica*) in Ireland, into which contributions, under one name or another, were daily flowing.

A. D.  
1175.

The good offices of the hierarchy promised to be of more permanent advantage, and their demands were treated with proportionably greater attention. Henry expected to find in that order a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, whether of Norman or of Irish race. The latter, possessing all the powers of sovereignty within their respective districts, had not paid to their native monarchs, and did not intend to pay to those of a foreign dynasty, any other mark of subjection than a slight and precarious tribute: and should any of the various motives which are covered by the name of state necessity, dictate the removal of these turbulent lords, the adventurers by whom that service might be effected, would expect to conquer for themselves, and not for their master. These were unpromising ministers for the settlement of his new province; but it was reasonable to suppose that a spiritual aristocracy, of which he hoped to have the exclusive appointment, would furnish some less unmanageable auxiliaries. Accordingly, Henry made it his first care to provide a liberal establishment for the church.<sup>a</sup>

But the bishops did not limit their views by the convenience of their associates in this partition alliance. They had now, though at the high price of the independence of their country, purchased no inconsiderable emoluments for themselves. Their demesnes, which were ample, but hitherto

<sup>a</sup> See *The Case of the Church of Ireland*, Letter I.

A. D.  
1175.

exposed to the ravages of an unscrupulous laity, had at length found a protector : the claim of tithes, which for some time they had been endeavouring<sup>a</sup> to maintain by spiritual censures and the dogma of divine right, was henceforward to be enforced by the secular arm ; privileges also and immunities, such as in those jubilant days of the church were enjoyed by the ecclesiastics of the most orthodox regions, and a large share in the administration of public affairs, were the immediate results of their recent intrigues. A more dazzling prospect opened to them in the distance. They considered themselves rather the colleagues than the subjects of Henry, both parties being, within their respective spheres, the deputies of the same superior : if he wielded the temporal authority, they were to bear the other and more formidable of the two swords, which at that period belonged to the sovereign pontiff. What was still more opportune, this lay governor and the supreme head would be necessarily absentees : the mass of the people, sunk in the stupor of feudal villainage,<sup>b</sup> were incapable of taking a part, or feeling an interest, in political measures : the native chiefs, as it was easy to foresee, would continue to waste their strength in unmeaning quarrels among themselves, and new elements of division were now about to be introduced by the inroads of adventurers from the other island : the ecclesiastics,

<sup>a</sup> Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 146.

<sup>b</sup> See Leland's *Introduction*.



A. D.  
1175.



on the contrary, had been recently organized into one effective body, upon the Roman model, and trained to the pursuit of a common interest.<sup>a</sup> Thus every thing conspired to flatter the prelates, that by unanimity in their own counsels and a cautious balancing of the pope, the king of England, and the nobles, against each other, the virtual sovereignty of the country might devolve upon themselves. It was only natural that men whose order was their family, and who possessed so many tempting facilities for the prosecution of ambitious designs, should cherish these splendid hopes of its exaltation; and had they been as temperate in the use of power as dexterous in the acquisition, there is little reason to doubt that their hopes would have been realized. But though always bold players of their lofty game, they have seldom been judicious. They have borne up against disappointments with a spirit which cannot be admired too highly: but prosperity has ever been a trial too severe for them; the first appearance of success generally betraying their purposes, and their arrogance never failing to defeat their intrigues.

It would be unjust to deny, that feelings of a more generous nature than those of personal or corporate aggrandizement, might occasionally mingle with these speculations. Their regards were no longer circumscribed within the precincts of their own island. They now stood by the throne

<sup>a</sup> Lanigan, iv. 18, 188. Leland, i. 10.

of the vicar of Christ, and were admitted peers of that mystical commonwealth,<sup>a</sup> which seemed entitled, by the extent of its jurisdiction and the awful magnitude of the interests it involved, to control all local and merely human authorities. In the more fortunate countries of Europe, the sentiments<sup>b</sup> inspired by the persuasion of so high a calling were a source of much benefit during the middle ages; over-awing the violent, protecting the forlorn, mitigating the prevailing ferocity of manners, and supplying in various ways the defects of civil institutions. But in Ireland, the circumstances which gave birth to papal dominion, were unfavorable to the production of these salutary results. The ascendancy of the pope did not rest, as in other countries, upon the obligation under which he was supposed to lie, as the common father of Christendom, of enforcing the claims of religion upon mankind, and incorporating all the faithful into one visible brotherhood. His pretensions were those of a feudal monarch; pretensions, which had an obvious tendency to secularise the minds of his ecclesiastical retainers, which were felt by the more intelligent among them, to be as destitute of truth as of moral influence, and yet were maintained, from the same motives which have inspired the modern advocates of the miracles of prince Hohenlohe. In the interval between the

A. D.  
1175.

<sup>a</sup> See the *Digest of Evidence*, vol. ii. chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4;

<sup>b</sup> See Note A. at the end of the chapter.

A. D.  
1175.



second and the eighth Henry—though at what particular seasons, it is impossible to tell—the Irish monasteries brought forth a strange progeny of legends, monstrous productions in the eye of reason, yet sufficiently attractive to a simple race, unlettered, unsuspicious, and possessing, or possessed by, that love of the marvellous, which still distinguishes their imaginative posterity. To reclaim the people from their schismatical indifference, and impress them with devout gratitude to the partial pontiff, who, while he swayed the sceptre of both worlds, took an especial interest in *their* welfare, was the common end of all these fables; but the inventors differed widely in the explanations which they gave, of the origin of this peculiar connection between Ireland and the holy see. Some were content to refer to a donation of the emperor Constantine, who was said to have bestowed *all* islands upon the successor of St. Peter; but this notion, although supported by the authority of several pontiffs, was displeasing to the national vanity, and never became very popular. Others, following pope Adrian the Fourth, discovered in the prophecies a *divine* right to islands; but this hypothesis like the former, laboured under the disadvantage, that it did not account for the *particular* tenderness which the pontiff was supposed to feel for his Irish people. A third was therefore framed, that a king of Munster and some other chiefs had visited Rome as pilgrims, and retiring from earthly cares to the

holy tranquillity of the cloister, had surrendered their dominions to the apostolic see : even this had an obvious defect, for the Irish principalities, though hereditary in the family, were elective as to the individual. The fourth and favorite solution was, that in the time of St. Patrick, the whole Irish nation, filled with gratitude to the pontiff whose pious care had thrown open to them the kingdom of heaven, ceded their island in full and perpetual sovereignty to his see. It was maintained by the more ardent advocates of this position, that the title of Holy Island, or Island of Saints, had been prophetically applied to Ireland in pagan times, a sure presage of the high destiny that awaited it, as the chosen patrimony of the holy father.<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1175.

<sup>a</sup> The second of these four opinions is espoused by the titular primate Lombard, who was private secretary to pope Clement the Eighth : the third by his cotemporary, the celebrated Geoffry Keating : the fourth seems to have been most popular in the times of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth ; it was adopted in the former reign by Polydore Virgil, the collector of the Peter-pence ; and in the latter, by the jesuit Sanders, the missionary of rebellion among the Irish lords. The hint of the prophetic name of " Isle of Saints " appears to have been caught from Festus Avienus, who professes to copy the Phœnician annals of the voyage of Himileo ;—his verses are,

Ast hinc duobus, in *Sacram, sic Insulam*  
*Dixere prisci*, solibus cursus rati est.  
 Hæc inter undas cespitem multum jacit,  
 Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.

J. K. L. seems to allude to this in his third letter on Ireland ; " when it pleased God to have an isle of saints upon the earth, he prepared Ireland *from afar* for this high destiny."—I do not remember any Irish, at least any Milesian writer, who acquiesces



A. D.  
1175.

Some generations must have passed away, before the easiest faith of the priesthood could have believed in a title which rested only upon fictions so contemptible ; and there is very decisive evidence, that its progress among the nobles was slow and unsteady. Had the pretension been accompanied by no other change, than a transfer of their nominal homage, from a rival chief to a formidable monarch whose power placed him above all competition, it is probable that these rude lords, who had no idea of national interests, and whose sept was their country,<sup>a</sup> would have continued to regard it with the same indifference, which marked their first reception of both the English and the papal claims. But fables and dogmas were of small avail in reconciling men to invasion, and to the novel tyranny of ecclesiastics. Little known in the reign of Edward the Second, disregarded in that of Henry the Eighth, the sovereignty of the holy see became thenceforward more popular, until, in the times of the first James and the first Charles, it was at length incorporated into the religious belief of the country. Some of the credit

in the donation of Constantine. Our national feelings have a natural, though not a very reasonable, source of gratification, in the escape of our forefathers from the Roman *arms* ; had the yoke of *imperial* Rome fallen upon Ireland, the loss of liberty would have been compensated by arts, letters, general civilization, and internal tranquillity.

<sup>a</sup> Down to the last moment of the feudal system in Ireland, a man's *tribe* was his *nation* ; in the indentures of submission, executed in the reign of Elizabeth, even subordinate chieftans are styled *heads* of their respective *nations*.

of this achievement may be claimed for the industry of the Jesuit missionaries ; but the true solution is, that the antipathy to England, which had hitherto opposed, was now the advocate of the papal claims ; and the bull of Adrian proved more powerful, as an incentive to rebellion, than it had ever been as an argument for loyalty.

A. D.  
1175.

The clergy, however, had abundant motives to animate the zeal of proselytism ; and wherever the English arms were sufficiently strong to protect the preacher, the temporal and spiritual supremacy of Rome were inculcated together. The pious fraud was sanctified by its utility. Whatever emotions of awe and superstitious reverence might be gradually associated with the mysterious name of the pope, would minister to the views, and swell the power of the hierarchy : *he* was to be the new idol of the popular worship, *they* were to enjoy the offerings of his votaries. It was easy to raise many profitable doubts as to the nature and extent of those functions, which the secular magistrate was now to administer in Ireland. The governor appointed by the king of England was, at the most, the deputy of a deputy, reflecting the distant splendor of sovereignty with a feeble and uncertain lustre : the prelates were nearer the fountain of honor and authority, and might therefore not unreasonably claim superior consideration. But the bulls of Adrian and Alexander had been framed with a provident ambiguity, which left it a very debateable question—whenever circumstances

A. D.  
1175.

might render it a prudent one—whether even so much should be conceded to the lay executive. The English monarch was acting under a commission, which, by prescribing a sphere of duty, at once conferred and limited power : he was the general of the holy see, appointed to reduce its province of Ireland to a suitable state of obedience ; its procurator, bound to secure the return of a certain revenue ; and the chief officer of its police, whose duty it was to aid the spiritual authorities in enforcing their temporal privileges, and punishing schismatical or disorderly members. In fine, it might be said, with much less of special pleading than is generally used by the advocates of the papacy, that his was an adventitious and instrumental power, introduced for specific purposes, and to be regarded solely with reference to their advancement. Not so the claims of the hierarchy—or, if a word may be invented, for which there is much occasion—of the *hierocracy* of Ireland. Their title was similar to that of the pontiff himself ; their office indissolubly united to his ; their exaltation, an indispensable part of the *end* of his government. They were his brethren, successors of the co-apostles of St. Peter, their divine rights were of the same indelible sanctity, not separated from his by any essential difference of nature—even of order—but faintly shaded off by evanescent tints which perplexed the nicest scrutiny of infallibility. Upon the whole, it could scarcely be denied that, in the absence of the chief bishop, they were

A. D.

1175.



his natural representatives, upon whom those cares of government, which he had not expressly imposed on others, devolved with an obvious and pèremptory propriety.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly they proceeded, with greater boldness than the prelates of other countries, to extend their claims from immunity to jurisdiction, to establish their code of canons as the law of the land, and to coerce even the heads of the civil executive with the severest penalties of interdict and excommunication.<sup>b</sup>


Our records have preserved many anecdotes of these early ecclesiastics. A few are inserted here, to illustrate the general view which has been given of their policy, and to prepare the reader for those more ample details which will become necessary as we descend from the æra of the reformation.

Scarcely had Henry returned to his hereditary dominions when the bishops, presuming on the service they had performed, began to embarrass and insult his Irish government. It had been stipulated in Adrian's bull, that the borders of the church should be enlarged; an expression which does not signify that religion should be propagated, but that more broad lands should be given to eccle-

<sup>a</sup> The ease, with which all supposed distinctions between the pontifical and the ordinary episcopal authority, may be explained away whenever circumstances require, is obvious from the memorable evidence of the Roman Catholic prelates. J. K. L. acknowledges even the *felicity* of an expression of Cyprian, "that the episcopal character admits of no degrees, and that every member of the order has the same inherent fullness of spiritual right." *Defence of the Vindication*, p. 81.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, ii. 56.



A. D.  
1175.  siastics ; and these prelates, “having sold the independence of their native country and the birth-right of their people,”<sup>a</sup> like most agents of that description, were impatient for their reward. Justly thinking that their own treachery stood higher on the scale of iniquity than the open aggression of strangers, they had looked for a proportionate share of the spoil ; and now when they found or imagined their merits undervalued,  
1179. they assumed airs of patriotism. Lawrence O’Toole, archbishop of Dublin, was the most conspicuous in this new character. After some years of ostentatious attachment to the British monarch, this prelate appeared as his accuser at the council of Lateran, supported by a deputation of five other bishops. They had all sworn allegiance at Cashel ; and the king, suspecting their intentions, arrested their progress through England, and exacted a second oath,<sup>b</sup> that they would do nothing at the council prejudicial to his interests ; but the ardor with which they were now inspired overcame every obstacle. Some Irish writers<sup>c</sup> assert, that Lawrence obtained a revocation of the papal grant to Henry : however that may be, it is certain that his complaints were loud and well received : “he exerted himself,” says a cotemporary,<sup>d</sup> “with all the zeal of his nation, for the privileges of the

<sup>a</sup> The mal-appropos, but by no means unjust language of J. K. L. *Vindication*, 31.

<sup>b</sup> Lanigan, vol. iv. 238.

<sup>c</sup> O’Sullivan Beare’s *Catholic History*, p. 62.

<sup>d</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, ut infra.

church, and against the king's authority ;" and the pope, in acknowledgment of his eminent services, raised him to the dignity of apostolic legate. Thus armed with new powers of mischief, Lawrence set out for Ireland ; but Henry wisely prevented his return, and the disappointed agitator passed the remainder of his days in Normandy. The monkish writer of his life, with that affected compassion for the misery of Irishmen, which the sad experience of so many centuries has not yet taught them to despise, gives these as his last words, " Ah ! foolish and senseless people, what will now become of you ? Who will heal your sufferings ? Who will relieve you ?" This manifold traitor, to his church, his country, his native prince, and the sovereign of his own election, was in due season canonized ; and his saintly protection is still invoked by our titular hierarchy, with a publicity which displays the unshaken constancy of the order. <sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1179.

When Henry appointed his son John to the lieutenancy, the pope seized the opportunity of re-asserting his title to the supreme dominion of Ireland ; and, with somewhat of sarcasm upon the foppish imbecility of the youthful governor, sent him a diadem of peacocks' feathers as the symbol of his investiture. In his train came the celebrated Gerald Barry, usually known as *Giraldus Cambrensis*. This writer, the creature of the monarch, and confidential adviser of his suc-

<sup>a</sup> See the *Digest of Evidence*, vol. ii. p. 163.

A. D.  
1179.  
~~~~~

cessor, has left us his thoughts upon the condition and claims of the Irish church :—a few passages deserve to be inserted.

After some remonstrances upon the mismanagement of civil affairs, he proceeds thus : “ But the *greatest* evil is, that in this our new domain we confer *nothing new* upon the church of Christ ; that we not only withhold from it due honor, and that bounty which it beseems a sovereign to exercise, but even invade its rights and reduce its ancient dignity. One night, while I lay anxiously musing and troubled by reason of *these insults to our Redeemer*, I had a vision, which I next morning imparted to the archbishop of Dublin, deeply affecting that venerable man by the recital. Methought I saw prince John in a green plain, as if preparing to lay the foundation of a church, and drawing on the turf a plan of the edifice ; ample space was allowed the laity, but the part assigned to the priesthood was miserably narrow and ill-proportioned. I reasoned with the prince, earnestly, but in vain, that he would give this latter portion a form and dimension more suited to its sacred dignity ; and as I proceeded, I was at last awakened by the vehemence of my expostulation.” —Again, addressing John.—“ If therefore your highness be minded, effectually to take compassion upon this wasted and afflicted land, and to bring it into a condition useful and honourable to you and your’s, attend to this my counsel. Your father, when he was meditating so sanguinary an attack

A. D.

1179.

upon a Christian people, with a discreet regard to himself and his affairs applied to *the supreme power on earth*, and bound himself to two conditions for leave to enter Ireland. One was, that he would exalt the church of God in that country; the other, that he would pay to St. Peter a penny annually for every house: such are the stipulations, according to the license issued by the pontiff and deposited faithfully in the archives of Westminster. Wherefore, to release your father's soul, seeing that, as Solomon says, nothing so ill becomes a prince as lying lips, and that it is especially dangerous to lie unto God; and also to release your own soul and those of your successors, for *you and they have no other defence, against the avenger of the blood which has been already shed, and which may be shed hereafter*; endeavour with all diligence to fulfil that contract. So, by these hostilities, may honor accrue to God; to you and your's, prosperity be increased on earth, and, in the future life, be secured that happiness which surpasseth all things.—Let those evils, therefore, be corrected by a good prince to whose honor it would belong—although the honor of God were no way concerned—that his clergy, who are to assist in his councils and in all arduous affairs of state, should be treated with due reverence. And, in order that God may in some degree partake of the spoil and be appeased for this bloody conquest, let the promised tribute,



A. D.  
1179.  
~~~~~

which will redeem all while it oppresses none, be paid henceforward to St. Peter.”<sup>a</sup>

These are the words of a man who had no other connection with the Irish hierarchy than his sympathies as an ecclesiastic. He was besides, not only a practised courtier but a zealous maintainer of his master's honor: he had been employed to extenuate the guilty ambition of Henry by making out, against the people of Ireland, a case of such inveterate barbarism, as should appear to reject all other reform but the radical one of the sword; and he executed his task with an obsequious contempt of truth and of his own reputation. His language may be received, therefore, as a very softened picture of those gorgeous visions which had, at first, seduced the prelates into treason, and now tantalized their hopes and exasperated their disappointment. And yet it is no faint colouring: “You have made,” says the humane archdeacon, “a most sanguinary attack upon a Christian people; you have shed much blood, and are about to shed much more: but do not spare, there is an easy atonement for all; only be careful to exalt the church, to extend its sacred borders, to give wealth, dignity, and offices of state to the bishops;—so will you have honor amongst men, and from God, instead of vengeance, an immortality of glory.” When Giraldus complains of the invasion of clerical rights, he is far from meaning to

<sup>a</sup> *Proemium in secundam editionem Hiberniæ Expugnatae.*

A. D.  
1179.

charge the government of his master with *positive* harshness to the priesthood generally: on the contrary, he says in another place, “that it was most meet and suitable that Ireland should receive a better rule of life from England; that she was indebted, for whatever advantages she enjoyed in church or state, to the magnanimous king Henry, and that the manifold abuses which formerly prevailed, had since his coming gone into disuse.” The species of outrage which had excited his indignation was rare and accidental. Amidst the atrocious tumults of the first descent, his own uncle Fitz Stephen, John De Courcy, Henry De Monte Morisco, and one or two others of the buccaneering partizans of Henry, unable, perhaps, to distinguish—or at all events, to protect—the sacred borders of the church, had committed or allowed some ravages upon ecclesiastical lands. They endeavoured to expiate the involuntary trespass by the most superb offerings: within eight years after the appearance of the first English man-at-arms, splendid abbeys in Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Wexford, Meath, and Down, some of the finest which Ireland ever possessed, attested their desire of reconciliation to the offended majesty of the prelates. But the propitiation which would have satisfied for the slaughter of myriads of the betrayed laity, could not obtain the forgiveness of these bloodless transgressions; because, as we learn from the temperate pen of Giraldus, they were regarded by the modest

A. D.  
1179.

hierarchy as *insults to the Redeemer*. Having no personal interest in the quarrel to betray him into harsh expressions, the impartial Welshman contents himself with remarking, that neither his uncle, nor any other perpetrator of these sacrilegious outrages, was judged worthy to leave behind him a legitimate offspring.

The archbishop mentioned by Cambrensis was John Comyn, an Englishman, successor of St. Lawrence. Amidst the public cares which had engaged Lawrence during his visit to Rome, he retained sufficient presence of mind to obtain from the pope a grant—the parties called it a *confirmation*—of most extensive possessions in lands, villages, and parishes, in the neighbourhood of Dublin.<sup>a</sup> Though the firmness of the English monarch prevented the prelate himself from returning to enjoy this splendid endowment, it was all claimed, of course, by his successor. But in the mean time Hamo De Valois, prince John's deputy in the government, had set up a counter-claim for some of the lands; whether in the name of his master, in his own, or in that of some ancient proprietor, does not now appear. Comyn, being thus excluded from possession, excommunicated De Valois and all the other members of the administration; and, not content with this vengeance upon the transgressors, laid

<sup>a</sup> “It is *surprising*,” says Dr. Lanigan, with much slyness or simplicity, “how richly endowed the see of Dublin was at this time.” *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 240.

his unoffending city and diocese under an interdict. To indicate that the passion of Christ had been renewed in the indignity offered to his minister, he caused the crucifixes of the cathedral to be laid prostrate on the ground, with crowns of thorns on the heads of the images; and one of the figures was pointed out as the miraculous representative of the suffering Redeemer, the face inflamed, the eyes dropping tears, the body bathed in sweat, and the side pouring forth blood and water. In the end the lord deputy was obliged to yield; and as an atonement for his former injuries, made a donation of twenty plough lands to the see of Dublin.<sup>a</sup>

A. D.

1179.

1220.

The next archbishop of the same see, an Englishman also,<sup>b</sup> was equally resolute. The clergy of Dublin having claimed some exorbitant fees under the specious title of Oblations of the Faithful, were opposed by the magistrates and citizens, who had just before successfully resisted a demand of the crown. An interdict upon the whole city, and special anathemas against the offending persons, were the immediate consequences of this insubordination. The people appealed to the lord deputy, and the cause received a formal hearing before the privy council; but here the clergy were triumphant, and their

<sup>a</sup> Leland, i. 164. Lanigan, iv. 332.—An *interdict* is a suspension of all religious rites.

<sup>b</sup> A Londoner, if we may conjecture from his name, Henry de Londres.



A. D.  
1220.

adversaries reduced to a very ludicrous composition. It was agreed that in cases of open scandal, such as that of opposition to the priesthood, a commutation in money should be made for the first offence; that for the second, the culprit should be cudgelled round the parish church; for the third, the same discipline should be repeated publicly at the head of a procession; and if the obstinacy proceeded farther, that he should be either disfranchised or cudgelled through the city. Such were the citizens, whom the king of England had thought it necessary to pacify, by an apology for his conduct and a promise of redress of grievances.<sup>2</sup>

The following anecdote of the cotemporary bishop of Ferns, is a graver instance of the zeal which animated the hierarchy of those days. This prelate had excommunicated the great earl of Pembroke, on the pretence that he had seized two manors belonging to his church; and, upon the death of that nobleman, appeared before the king to claim restitution. Being ordered to pronounce an absolution at the earl's tomb, he attended the king thither, and, with judicial solemnity, pronounced these words. "Oh! William, thou that liest fast bound in the chains of excommunication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored, by the king, or thy heir, or any of thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise, I ratify the sentence,

<sup>2</sup> Leland, i. 237.

that, being bound in thy sins, *thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever.*" The heir would not surrender the disputed manors, and the bishop confirmed his malediction. Some time after, the male line of the family having become extinct, it was carefully pointed out to the common people how the curse of God had followed the imprecation of his minister.<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1220.

Hitherto, we have seen the bishops contending with their armed associates, for the spoils, and almost over the bodies, of their common victims. But time had now begun to mark out prescriptive limits to their estates; and accordingly, henceforward other desires are gradually unfolded, and other objects engage the growing ambition of the church.

The archbishop of Dublin having been appointed lord justice, and about the same time, legate of the holy see, employed all the power which these offices gave him, in extending the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. The citizens, oppressed by these new tribunals, appealed to the king, who wrote a sharp but ineffectual letter to his deputy.<sup>b</sup> The civil sword was then transferred to the hands of a layman, but the clergy persevered in their career of usurpation; and after eleven years of silent endurance, the monarch was

1222.

<sup>a</sup> *Lel. ibid.* Quære—Could the bishop have believed in the efficacy of his anathema?

<sup>b</sup> *Prin's Animadversions on the Fourth Institute*, quoted by Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 58.

A. D.  
1233.

compelled to issue a writ, which affords a striking proof of the ascendancy they had attained.

“The king, to his earls, barons, knights, freemen, and all others of his land of Ireland, greeting: Whereas it is clearly known to be contrary to our crown and dignity, and to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England, which our father king John of worthy memory established in said land, that pleas should be held in court Christian, touching the advowsons of churches and chapels, or lay fee, or chattels, unless such as may accrue from wills or marriages; we therefore straitly charge you, that you by no means presume to sue such pleas aforesaid in court Christian, to the manifest prejudice of our crown and dignity; and we give you to know for certain, that we have enjoined our chief justice of Ireland to enforce the statutes of our courts of England against all transgressions of this our mandate, and to execute whatsoever pertaineth to us in this matter.”<sup>a</sup>

The king, it would seem, was afraid to provoke the prelates by opposing himself directly to their aggressions. He consulted for his dignity as well as he dared, by attacking them through his nobles, knights, and freemen, who were thus not only worried by an arrogant priesthood, but upbraided by a feeble prince, for “presuming” to submit to a power which held the throne itself in vassalage.

1266. Towards the close of this long reign, the heir

<sup>a</sup> Cox, p. 62.

apparent, who had been created lord of Ireland by his father, had the courage to confront the true authors of the evil. History has not acquainted us with the effect of his spirited reprimand, but the document itself is well deserving of attention.

A. D.  
1266.

“Edward, first-born of the illustrious king of England, to all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical judges within the land of Ireland, whether ordinary or delegate from the apostolic see, greeting : It pertaineth, and hath of old pertained to the royal dignity in the kingdom of England, that secular persons cannot be impleaded before an ecclesiastical judge, unless the suit against them be matrimonial or testamentary ; for the royal power hath reserved all other causes to itself. And whereas, by the grant of our lord and father the king, we enjoy, touching the premises, the same privileges in our land of Ireland, which our said lord enjoyeth in the kingdom of England, aforesaid ; we therefore strictly inhibit you, that you hold no plea of debts or chattels in court Christian against our citizens of Dublin, unless such debts or chattels arise out of matrimonial or testamentary cases ; because pleas which are not matrimonial or testamentary belong to our dignity, and we accordingly prohibit any actions whatsoever concerning lay fee to be held in court Christian. And that this our prohibition may have force in future times for the benefit of our said citizens, we have caused these our letters



A. D.  
1266.

to be made patent, to continue during our pleasure.

Given at our castle of Kenilworth, the 27th day of June, in the 50th year of the reign of our lord and father the king.”<sup>a</sup>

Even this letter, however amply it attests the indignant spirit of the prince, gives a very decisive proof of the insignificance of his authority. “It pertains,” he says, “to the royal dignity, that *all* pleas of a certain description should be reserved to our civil courts; we therefore prohibit you from holding such pleas *against our citizens of Dublin.*” In the capital, where the image of royalty might inspire a little respect, and where the citizens had obtained a charter of special privileges, he makes an effort to maintain the rights of a sovereign; the rest of the island is surrendered without a struggle to the misrule of the hierocracy.

1276. The annals of the following reign have preserved a curious petition of a widow.—“Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our lord the king’s grace, that she may have her inheritance which she recovered at Clonmel before the king’s judges, against David Mac Carwell, bishop of Cashel. *Item*, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up and detained in prison until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by said bishop. *Item*, for the death of her six brothers

<sup>a</sup> Harris, *Hibernica*, part ii. p. 60.

and sisters, who were starved by said bishop because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father.—It is to be noted that the said bishop has built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers who murder the English and lay waste the country; and that when our lord the king's council examine into such offences, he passes sentence of excommunication upon them. *Item*, it is to be noted that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea. Wherefore she petitions for God's sake that the king's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted, that the afore-said bishop has been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen besides her father; and that the said Margaret has many obtained writs of our lord the king, but to no effect by reason of the influence and bribery of said bishop.”<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1276.

If these enormities, or any approaching to such a description, could be committed by the prelates upon Englishmen, we must not be surprised at any extent of suffering which may have fallen to the lot of the native population.—King John, with more of wisdom and humanity than is discernible in his other actions, had granted to his Irish subjects a charter of the laws and usages of England, to the observance of which he bound the nobles by an oath. His son and successor, Henry

<sup>a</sup>Leland, i. 234.

A. D.  
1276.

the Third, confirmed this charter by a patent of the first year of his reign : eleven years after, he *enforced* it, in a mandate directed “to his *archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors*, earls, barons, knights, freeholders,<sup>a</sup> and the bailiffs of his several counties:” after a second interval, of eighteen years, the monarch again addressed the same personages, but in the humble tone of supplication “that *for the sake of peace and quietness, they would permit* the English laws and customs to be observed in his land of Ireland.” But neither commands nor entreaties were found availing. The lay lords of both races, from the same heartless and short-sighted views which now influence the absentee proprietors, preferred serfs to a yeomanry, and resolved to continue the horrors of the aboriginal system. The prelates adopted a more prudent, but not more liberal course: they allowed *their own vassals* the use of the English laws, in all matters which they had not reserved to their spiritual jurisdiction; and by this measure they, at once, pleased the government, secured to themselves a reasonable revenue, attached their retainers, and displayed to all, *the great advantage of being under the church*. But it was by no means their intention that a benefit, which was thus a sort of ecclesiastical privilege, should be vulgarized by indiscriminate enjoyment; and hence, we find

<sup>a</sup> That is, not *forty-shillingers*, but gentlemen who hold directly under the crown:—*libere tenentes*. The several particulars mentioned in this paragraph are given by Leland, vol. i. pp. 189, 223, 292.

them as hostile as the lay nobles, to the general extension of the English usages.

A. D.  
1276.

In the reign of Edward the First, a few broken clans and many smaller groups of the miserable natives, the refuse of the sword and its attendant horrors, were still lingering within the precincts of the English colonies ; they were pent in those corners of their old possessions which had not yet attracted the desires of the settlers, contemptuously tolerated in their ancient usages,<sup>a</sup> but excluded from all the benefits of English law or government. Few situations could be more forlorn. On the one hand their original polity, which was so exceedingly simple, that the members of the same tribe had perhaps no civil relation to each other, except their common attraction to one chief, had crumbled away, as this central power was removed or weakened, and left them nearly, if not entirely, in a state of nature : on the other, they were not acknowledged as the king's subjects ; the king's courts were not open to them, and if the blood of a father or brother were shed, his assassin had only to plead that the deceased was an Irishman, and he was secure from all vengeance but that of the Almighty. In the truce which had naturally arisen, out of their weakness and the sated thirst of conquest in their invaders,

<sup>a</sup> These were considered to be *good enough for them*, as some customs of the modern Irish are said to have been pronounced by a great statesman.



A. D.  
1278.



they received, every day, some new and mortifying proof of their own destitution, and of the manifold advantages enjoyed by Englishmen. All hope of expelling the strangers had now vanished from their minds ; those feelings and circumstances which had hitherto blinded them to the defects of their Brehon code, were no longer in existence, and they resolved on the experiment of an unqualified submission. They made up a purse of eight thousand marks which they tendered to the king through his Irish governor, with a request that he would receive them as his faithful liegemen, and take them under the protection of the laws of England. Nothing can so well illustrate their broken-hearted wretchedness as this mode of preferring the petition. A measure so just in itself, so fair in its prospects, so full of glory to the prince who might condescend to adopt it, was not even to be thought of by the supplicants, unless, like too many of their unhappy posterity, they approach the seat of justice with a bribe. King Edward's answer deserves to be given in full :

“ Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, to our trusty and well beloved Robert de Ufford, lord justice of Ireland, greeting :

“ The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy. We entirely commend your diligence, hoping that, by the divine assistance, the things there begun so happily by you

shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

A. D.  
1278.

“ And whereas the Irish commonalty have made a tender to us of eight thousand marks, on condition that we grant them the laws of England to be used in the aforesaid land ; we wish you to know that inasmuch as the Irish laws are hateful to God, and repugnant to justice, it seems expedient to us and our council to grant them the laws of England ; provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of our prelates and nobles, of said land, do concur in this behalf.

“ We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with this commonalty, and enquired diligently into the will of our people, prelates, and nobles, in this matter ; and having agreed upon the largest fine of money that you can obtain to be paid to us on this account, you make with the consent of all aforesaid, or at least, of the greater and sounder part thereof, such a composition touching the premises, as you shall judge in your discretion to be most expedient for our honor and interest. Provided also, that said commonalty shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon, for one campaign only, to repair to us as we may see fit to demand them.”

In reply to this letter, Ufford stated that the time was unsuitable, that far the greater number of the barons were absent from the seat of government, upon the business of the state or the defence

1278. of their lands, and that many of the others were  
 minors ; that it would therefore be impossible to  
 collect an assembly sufficiently numerous or res-  
 1280. pectable for so grave a deliberation. But the Irish  
 renewed their affecting appeal, and the king issued  
 a fresh mandate.

“ The king, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, counts, barons, knights, and other English of his land of Ireland, greeting : Whereas we have been humbly supplicated by the Irish of said land, that we would vouchsafe to grant them of our grace, that they might use and enjoy the same common laws and customs within the land,<sup>a</sup> which the English there do use and enjoy. Now we, not thinking it expedient to make such grant without your knowledge and consent, do command you, that upon certain days about the festival of the nativity of the blessed virgin, and in some convenient place, you hold diligent enquiry amongst yourselves, whether or not we can make such grant without your loss and the prejudice of your liberties and customs, and of all other circumstances touching such grant aforesaid ; and that, before the next meeting of our parliament to be held at Westminster, you distinctly and fully, under the seal of our lord justice of Ireland, do advise our council what you shall determine in this matter : and you shall not be moved to omit

<sup>a</sup> The original has *in terra*. Leland has proved very clearly that the pale, or English district in this country, was called *the land*, or *the land of Ireland*.—See vol. i. p. 243, &c.

this by reason of the absence of those peers who may be detained away, or of those who are under age or in a state of wardship ; so that after full deliberation, we may take such course in this behalf as to us and our council shall seem expedient.

A. D.  
1280.

Given at Westminster, September 10, 1280."

Here was offered to the church one of those invaluable opportunities of repentance, by which the benignant wisdom of Providence will sometimes extract blessing from the greatest transgressions. The king had declared in his first letter, that he would be guided by the opinion of his prelates and nobles ; and in his second, that notwithstanding the inevitable absence of most of the latter, the assembling of the council should by no means be deferred : thus the ecclesiastical members, bishops, abbots, and priors, would have easily commanded a very decisive majority.<sup>a</sup> Ireland was therefore once more at the mercy of its prelates ; they might now, by a vote, have almost atoned for the original baseness of their predecessors, and arrested the bloody progress of centuries of desolation. But the canon law was the only code which they desired to establish generally, and the law of England was even then too favorable to liberty, not to be viewed with alarm by men who aimed at despotic power. On the one hand, they wished for a continuance of the inequality

<sup>a</sup> It would seem that in those days the spiritual lords outnumbered *the whole body* of their lay peers. See the quotation from Spenser at *Edward the First*.



A. D.  
1280.

between the races ; because, in fact, it was only a gradation of servitude, and kept the ascendancy of the church upon a higher pedestal. On the other, they could not tolerate a measure which, by diffusing through all classes a spirit of spontaneous attachment to the state, might diminish their own political importance : there was to be no loyalty, of which they were not the mediators ; and while overt acts of rebellion were occasionally restrained, a spirit was to be kept alive which would render their constant interference indispensable.—It cannot be ascertained from any authentic record, whether this council ever met ; one thing only is certain, that the bishops defeated the good intentions of the king, and closed their ears to the groans of their countrymen.<sup>a</sup>


<sup>a</sup> Leland, i. 234.—A pleasant writer of our times gives the following account of this nefarious transaction. “In the reign of Edward the First, that part of the native population which came in immediate contact with the English settlements, and which it was, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance to conciliate, petitioned the king to adopt them as his subjects, and to admit them under the shelter of the English law. They even tried the experiment of bribing the throne into justice. But though the king was well inclined to accede to their request, and even ordered that a convention should be summoned to take this petition into consideration, luckily for *the lovers of discord and misrule*, his wise and benevolent intentions were not allowed to take effect. The proud barons to whom he had entrusted the government of Ireland, (or, in other words, *the Orange ascendancy of that day*,) could not so easily surrender their privilege of oppression, but, *preferring victims to subjects*, resolved to keep the Irish as they were ; and the arguments, or rather evasions, by which they got rid of the question altogether, so closely resemble the shallow pretexts which have been played off against the claims of the Catholics in our own time, that their folly, though of so old a date, appears to us quite recent and modern, and they might have been uttered

As yet the prelates had pursued their devices with little disturbance of the civil peace ; and the occasional atrocities in which they indulged, are evidences rather of the character of the men than of the system of the church. A century and a half had passed away, without the realization of those ambitious hopes which had allured the sanguine perfidy of St. Lawrence and his cotemporaries. These hopes had been transmitted, in regular descent, and with increasing bitterness of disap-

A. D.  
1280.

by Mr. Goulburn last week, without any breach of costume or appearance of anachronism:—Edward was assured that an immediate compliance with his commands was impossible in the present state of things ; that the kingdom was in too great ferment and commotion, &c. &c.—‘ And such pretences,’ adds Leland, ‘ were sufficient, where the aristocratic faction was so powerful.’ Read, ‘ Orange faction’ here, and you have the wisdom of our rulers, at the end of near six centuries, *in statu quo*.—*Memoirs of Captain Rock*, pp. 20, 23.

This ingenious gentleman has accidentally lightened the imputation upon the bishops, by entirely overlooking the king’s second letter ; it is to be hoped, that on some future occasion he may be disposed to read Leland with more attention. Mr. Goulburn is probably unconscious of this more than Pythagorean metempsychosis, which, “ without breach of costume *or appearance of anachronism*,” identifies him with the Dr. Murray of six centuries ago : but, passing over the Hibernicism, it remains unquestionable, that “ the Orange faction” of these early times, the “ lovers of discord and misrule, who preferred victims to subjects,” were no other than the papal “ bishops, abbots, and priors.” The facetious biographer has hinted one very serious and important truth,—that the causes which lie at the root of Irish turbulence, are political, not religious. While the Roman Catholic hierarchy were *in*, they led the ascendancy faction, or, as he chuses to call them, the Orangemen ; now that they are *out*, they lead the professors of patriotism ; their circumstances are changed, not their temper or policy.—It deserves to be added, that about fifty years after, these Irish outcasts petitioned again for *naturalization* in their native soil ; their application was evaded by nearly the same devices.

A. D.  
1280.  pointment, to every new succession of the Irish clergy ; and a slight, which they might have anticipated, but for which it does not appear that they were at all prepared, was gradually kindling a spirit of seditious discontent. The courts of Rome and England, justly suspicious of men who, however useful as instruments for acquiring dominion, had shewn that they could not be entrusted with its preservation, had, from the beginning, concurred in a plan for weakening the Irish ecclesiastical interest ; a few of the most important sees, of the richest abbacies, and probably of the inferior dignities in the church, being always filled by Englishmen. Fifteen years after the landing of an English governor, the jealousies occasioned by this questionable policy burst out, in the synod of Dublin, into mutual invective ; and as their cause was never removed, time strengthened the animosity of the Irish. In the year 1250, the native prelates agreed to a regulation, that no clerk of the English nation should be received into a canonicate in any of their churches ; the royal authority was exerted in vain to change this bold resolve, and some time had elapsed before the united influence of the crown and the tiara could extort a sullen retractation. But although the vexation of the Irish ecclesiastics flamed out thus from to time, the many solid advantages they had obtained, and the continued want of English protection to shelter them from the vengeance of their betrayed countrymen, combined to teach them the necessity of

A. D.  
1280.

1315.

dissimulation. Trusting to time and their skill in intrigue, for the final accomplishment of their designs, they continued to assist against the *common enemy*, with their counsels, their anathemas, and when induced by sufficient remittances from the exchequer, with their military talents. At length, in the reign of Edward the Second, the invasion and partial success of Edward Bruce revived the ancient spirit of the order; and their smothered rage exploded in the design of a new revolution. Those evils which the prelates of the last reign would not allow their monarch to remedy, were now converted into arguments against the government of his successor, and church policy shewed the versatility of its genius by re-assuming the mask of patriotism. With the usual bad faith of pampered mercenaries, a multitude of ecclesiastics, both prelates and inferior clergy, revolted to the insurgent chieftains. They denounced the English as enemies to the church and oppressors of the nation; they exhorted the populace to flock to the banner of Bruce; a prince, they said, of the ancient line of Milesian monarchs, and the chosen instrument of the common deliverance; and with that vain-glorious impatience of prosperity, which has always frustrated their most promising attempts, formally crowned the adventurer king of Ireland.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Leland, i. 271.—The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Dundalk, within the English pale.—Spenser says he *reigned* for a whole year.



A. D.

1315.



When the rebel priesthood had taken this irrevocable step, they began to awake to the temerity of their enterprise ; and made a desperate effort to divert the approaching storm of papal and royal vengeance, from their own heads upon those of the chieftains, with whom they had united, whom, perhaps, they had seduced. The experience of our own times prepares us to find these early ecclesiastics putting forward laymen as the ostensible agitators ; and while they touch with their own hands the latent springs of sedition, slipping aside from responsibility, and relinquishing to their confederates all dangerous posts of honor. The stratagem now practised, was somewhat of this nature ; but more clumsy and ineffectual, it must be confessed, than if its movements had been guided by the disciplined duplicity of modern tacticians. A memorial was dispatched to Rome, the work of ecclesiastics, but entitled “ The Complaint of the *Nobles* of Ireland to pope John the Twenty-second.” It described, in interesting, though unpolished language, the tyranny of the English over the church and the people ; it showed how these oppressions had driven the laity to arms, and the clergy to—the feeble virtue of passive obedience. Like the remonstrance of Cambrensis, this extraordinary document begins with political grievances, and then proceeds in the following terms, to expatiate on the wrongs of the Church :

“ Let this brief account suffice, of the origin of our ancestors, and the miserable state in which

pope Adrian has placed us. It remains that we remind you, most holy father, that Henry, king of England, to whom in the manner abovementioned, an indult was granted for entering Ireland, and also the four kings his successors, have broken the conditions which the pontiff's bull imposed on them. For the aforesaid Henry promised, that he would extend the borders of the church in Ireland, and maintain its rights inviolate ; that he would eradicate vice and plant virtue, and that he would pay to St. Peter a yearly tax of a penny for every house. All these promises have been wilfully and of set purpose broken, by the kings, their ministers, and the governors of Ireland. For, in the first place, so far are they from extending the demesnes of the church, that they have invaded and usurped its former possessions, and despoiled some cathedrals of half their lands. Equal disregard has been shown for ecclesiastical liberty ; our bishops and other dignitaries being cited, arrested, and even imprisoned by the officers of the king of England. But so broken is their spirit by the bitterness of the oppression which they endure, that they fear even to lay their grievances before your holiness ; and since they are so basely silent, they do not deserve that we should say any thing in their favor." <sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1315.

<sup>a</sup> The whole of this appeal, which is stiled *Querimonia Magnatum Hiberniæ ad Pontificem Johannem XXII.* is given by Mac Geoghegan, *Histoire D'Irlande*, Tom. 2. At the bottom of the page in which Dr. O'Connor refers to this curious piece,

A. D.  
1315.

It appears from the concluding sentence of this passage, that the prelates now wished to disclaim all participation in the rebellion, or in the remonstrance : but in the first particular, the voice of history proclaims the falsehood of the denial, and in the second, the entire structure of the *complaint* exposes its inconsistency. The *technical* chronology of the Irish monasteries, and the *technical* language of papal bulls and canons, attest the professional attainments of the authors of this piece ; while the pathetic detail of ecclesiastical grievances, treaties violated, lands usurped, and privileges invaded, is a decisive evidence of their professional spirit. Had the insurgent nobles been indeed the framers of a memorial to the pontiff, it is probable they would have expressed far other

he says with his usual self-complacency : “ The greatest latitude of assertion, with the least shadow of proof, is observable in almost all modern writers who have meddled with Irish history ; I have therefore been careful to give copious extracts from my originals.” After this flourishing introduction, it is amusing to find that in what he gives as *an extract from his original*, the whole of the passage above quoted dwindles into the following pointless antithesis : “ Nor have the persons of our clergy been more respected than the property of our church.”—It was the pleasure of this gentleman to misrepresent *history*, by assuming that the Irish prelates had no share in the rebellion ; this false assumption brought with it the necessity of another, that of maintaining that the prelates had no share in the *memorial* ; hence it became necessary, in the third place, to *misrepresent the memorial itself*. There is something almost whimsical in the degree of assurance, with which the learned antiquary carries on his “ brave ” deception. In the same note, he charges Mr. Plowden with having twice *misquoted* the Quarimonia, and expresses a doubt whether that gentleman had ever seen it. Mr. Plowden in reply, acknowledges that he had not seen the piece, and says that he had transcribed his quotations from *Dr. O’Conor himself*.—O’Conor’s *Historical Address*, i. 123, 137. Plowden’s *Historical Letter*, 236.

A. D.  
1315.

sentiments than those of compassion, for the bishops of their recreant church. Originally betrayed, and, during the long lapse of a hundred and fifty years, incessantly worried by their hireling shepherds, it were unfair to impute to these fiery chieftains, either so much weakness as to feel, or so much hypocrisy as to express, any very deep sympathy in episcopal discontents ; and this weakness or hypocrisy would be utterly unaccountable, could we suppose, as the complaint does—that the bishops had not conspired with them in their present enterprise. Had such been the case, when they pleaded “the miserable state in which pope Adrian had placed them,” they would not have been in a mood to forget, or to forgive, the share which the hierarchy had in the guilt of the partition treaty, and which it hoped to have in its iniquitous profits. The reason of the unfortunate lords would have united with their passions in charging upon the prelates all those sufferings and indignities, by the maddening sense of which they had been goaded into their hopeless insurrection.

Sufferings and indignities they unquestionably had experienced ; and in stating these, the complaint, though sketched by a rude and treacherous hand, catches a melancholy dignity from the subject, and becomes natural, elevated, and affecting. When it urges on their behalf, “that besides the sufferers by famine and disease, fifty thousand of their countrymen had already perished by the Saxon sword ;” and “that there is no longer a spot in



A. D.  
1315.

their native country, which the arrogance of the strangers will allow them to call their own ;” it makes an appeal, the truth of which is supported by our wretched annals, and the force acknowledged by human nature. The descent from this grave impeachment, to the frivolous charges which the ecclesiastics adduce in aggravation, is almost too great for the equanimity of contempt : placed in juxta-position, the lay and the clerical grievances assort so oddly, as to present a contrast at once bitter and ridiculous. “ Fifty thousand of our brethren have been cut off by the sword,—and a bishop has been cited, nay, committed to prison.” “ We are not left a spot which we can call our own,—and a cathedral has been despoiled of half its lands.” Were it true that the prelates had suffered all that they assert, nothing short of that profane and heartless vanity, with which the church of Rome has identified the glory of God and the worldly power of his minister, could have deduced from such sufferings an argument for rebellion. But a comparison of their circumstances, before and after the introduction of the English dynasty, will shew that their allegations were as unfounded in fact and reason, as exaggerated in importance.

Ecclesiastical liberty, the violation of which, by the English government, forms a prominent topic of the Complaint, is a prime article in the creed, or code, of the Vatican. It is founded upon these assumptions ; that the papacy is a monarchy transcending

A. D.  
1315.

the kingdoms of this world, in dignity no less than in the ends of its institution ; that the members of the episcopal and priestly orders are, in their several gradations, the ministers and functionaries of this great monarchy ; that these officers could not fulfil their duties or the commands of their spiritual sovereign, duties and commands above all competition or interference, if they were left in subjection to the civil authorities ; that therefore it became necessary to exempt ecclesiastics from the cognizance of secular tribunals,<sup>a</sup> and reserve them to the jurisdiction of the holy see. This plausible and splendid fiction was unknown in Ireland under its ancient polity, and continued to be so in the remoter districts, until the joint influence of Rome and England, and the contagion of priestly intrigue, gradually effected a spiritual revolution. A few facts,<sup>b</sup> decisive of this question, and acknowledged by the most learned Roman Catholic writers, are discernible amidst the darkness which overhangs our early history. It appears :

1. That the Irish ecclesiastics took no oaths to the pope.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It is this plea of ecclesiastical liberty, which forms the real objection to the oath of supremacy.

<sup>b</sup> Had the writer time, or a temptation, to deviate into the polemics of our ecclesiastical history, it would be easy to add to the number : but J. K. L. has already rejected Declan's invitation to such discussions.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. O'Connor, *Columbanus*, 3, 160.

A. D.  
1315.

2. That they never applied to the see of Rome for bulls of nomination, institution, or exemption.<sup>a</sup>

3. That they never appealed to Rome for the decision of ecclesiastical causes.<sup>a</sup>

4. That the bishop and other prelates of a tribe were appointed by the chieftain, either directly or with the previous form of an election by the priesthood.<sup>b</sup>

5. That papal legates had no jurisdiction in Ireland until the twelfth century ; and that after that period their jurisdiction was limited to the English settlements.<sup>c</sup>

6. That, in general, the discipline of the Irish churches had so little correspondence with the Roman, that it received several hard names from the papal writers of the twelfth century. Pope Alexander and Cambrensis call it *filthy* ; Anselm and Gilbert, *schismatical* ; Bernard, *barbarous* and *almost pagan*.<sup>d</sup>

These instances are so many incontestible proofs, that the government of the Irish church was strictly domestic ; and that the hierarchy

<sup>a a</sup> Charles O'Connor, sen. Dissertations on Irish History, 203. J. K. L. *Defence of Vindication of Irish Roman Catholics*, 83.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. O'Connor, *Columbanus*, 5, 45. It would seem that, about the time of the arrival of the English, the custom of lay presentation was very prevalent. The synod of Dublin, held in 1186, made a canon, "that any clerk who accepted a benefice from a layman, should be excommunicated, unless he resigned it after the third monition."—Lanigan, iv. 271.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. O'Connor, *Historical Address*, 1, 10.

<sup>d</sup> Lanigan, 4, 12—218.

A. D.  
1315.  
}

stood apart from that great organization which, in the other nations of Christendom, sustained itself in stately independence. Thus, there being no external power to interpose between the priest and the local secular authorities, it is an obvious and certain inference, that he was either subject to their ordinary jurisdiction, or indebted, for his privileges, to their free indulgence. But we are not without more direct information ;—there is the clearest evidence for the following additional facts :

7. That ecclesiastics were not excused from military service until the year 799, after Ireland had been christian for more than three centuries ;<sup>a</sup> and that the immunity was then granted without reference to papal authority.

8. That in other respects, they owed their chieftains the customary duties of clansmen.<sup>b</sup>

9. That they were amenable to the ordinary Brehon jurisprudence.<sup>b</sup>

Thus it appears, that under the ancient system, an Irish prince was as absolute master of the priesthood of his sept, as of any other class among his followers. But a new order of things was introduced by Henry the Second, and thenceforward kept regular pace with the advance of the British and papal power. All the privileges of the English church, and all those vexatious pretensions

<sup>a</sup> O'Connor, sen. Dissertation, 216.

<sup>b b</sup> Acts of Synod of Cashel, quoted by Lanigan, iv. 209.



A. D.  
1315.

which had just attained a temporary triumph in the canonization of Thomas a Becket, were communicated to the Irish clergy, and maintained by them with more pertinacity, in proportion to the weakness of the civil power. It was guaranteed by the first article of the charter of Henry the Third,<sup>a</sup> “that the church of Ireland should be FREE, and have its rights and liberties inviolate ;” and many subsequent acts of the state contain similar provisions. To crown all, the bishops were now placed above their former lords ; and from being the serfs of a turbulent chieftainry, became the first order of peers under a powerful monarch. The writ of Henry the Second, appointing Fitz Adelm to the lieutenancy,<sup>b</sup> is addressed to his “archbishops, bishops, *kings*, earls, barons, and all his liegemen of Ireland.” Henry the Third commences one of his writs in these terms, “Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. to the venerable father, Luke, *by the same grace*, archbishop of Dublin, *and* to his trusty and well-beloved Maurice Fitzgerald, his lord deputy of Ireland, greeting ;” thus ranking the prelate above his lieutenant, and conferring on him a stile of independent dignity corresponding to his own. Public instruments of a later date<sup>c</sup> assign the same stately precedence to ecclesiastics ; and within the sphere which was subject to the dominion of Rome and England, not bishops only, but

<sup>a</sup> Leland, i. Appendix.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, i. 113.

<sup>c</sup> Leland, i. 241.

A. D.  
1315.



abbots and priors, took rank above the royal lineage of O'Neil, O'Brien, or O'Conor.<sup>a</sup>

Church property was on a scale of even greater magnificence. Among the seven decrees of the Cashel synod—the articles of union, as they may be called, between the Anglo-Irish church and state—there were four which regulated the revenues of the clergy. It was enacted by one of these, “that church lands should be free from the customary exactions of the chieftains, from all demands, whether of money or of entertainment :” by another, “that they should be likewise exempt from certain fines imposed by the Brehon law :” by a third, “that all the faithful should pay tithes of their cattle, fruits, and all other increase ;” and this was explained, a few years after, by a sweeping commentary of the Dublin synod, as including the tithe of “provisions, hay, flax, wool, the young of animals, and the produce of gardens and orchards :” by the fourth, “that all the faithful should pay a third of their moveable goods, for a

<sup>a</sup> This circumstance alone is sufficient to prove that the *Complaint* was the fabrication of the rebel prelates. The O'Neil of the time was the lay leader of this insurrection ; by the old Irish law, which he was struggling to maintain, all the prelates of Ulster were his *vassals* ; by the law which the English were labouring to introduce, they were his *superiors*. Some of those prelates might have formed a temporary junction with him for their own purposes ; but, whether he rose or fell, they were labouring to establish their own ascendancy. A similar observation will present itself to the intelligent reader, when he peruses the next paragraph in the text ;—in revenue, as well as in rank, the clergy were encroaching upon the prescriptive claims of the chieftains.

A. D.  
1315.

solemn burial, and for vigils and masses for the repose of their souls ; and that, if they were dying unmarried or without legitimate children, the bequest should be increased to one-half." Such was the splendid bribe of the traitorous church of Ireland : its own extensive lands protected from injury, a full tenth of the produce of all other lands, and more than a third of all moveable property ;—besides, while it was guaranteed against loss, it might accumulate for ever.

Wherever the law or the arms of England prevailed, all these privileges were respected ; while in the other parts of the island, the *Magnates* followed their old usages,<sup>a</sup> refusing tithes, levying contributions, and overwhelming their clergy with the honor of their unceremonious visits ; regardless alike of king and pontiff. It is possible indeed, that the English government was sometimes roused from its forbearance by those prelates who, like the archbishop in the widow's petition, exchanged their sacred character for that of a leader of banditti—but this is only conjecture ; as far as appears from history, that personage was unmolested in the enjoyment of a degree of freedom, which, after all reasonable allowance for the eloquence of the fair plaintiff and the licentious barbarism of the times, must have brought an unprivileged marau-

<sup>a</sup> Lanigan, iv. 219.—Cambrensis reckons it among the *spurcitie* of the Irish lords of his day, that they would not pay tithes ;—their modern representatives are relapsing fast into the same enormity.

der to the gallows. It may be allowed also, that even within the English districts, the estates of the church did not always escape those ravages by which all other lands were periodically laid waste; in the circumstances of the time and country, total exemption would have been almost miraculous. But if the clergy occasionally suffered a few of those annoyances, which were as the course of nature to less fortunate men, they had a peculiar and abundant recompence in that soldierly devotion which sought to appease God by largesses to his ministers. The early English adventurers were eminently distinguished for this species of piety: one hundred and sixty religious houses, founded and endowed between the landing of Henry the Second and that of Edward Bruce, with countless grants of land and other minor benefactions, were the splendid monuments of their remorse.<sup>a</sup> In fine, all the privileges and nearly all the riches which the church then enjoyed,—and it enjoyed an ample share of both—had been derived from the policy or bounty of Englishmen, and were still suspended upon the continuance of their ascendancy. From a state of some hardship and total dependence, it had been exalted as the church of a dominant party, and pampered into all that florid prosperity,

A. D.  
1315.

<sup>a</sup> As may be seen in a very cursory glance over Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*. There is, besides, a great number of houses, of which Archdall does not assign either the date or the founder; a considerable proportion of these ought, in strict reason, to be added to the hundred and sixty in the text,—but the case is abundantly strong without them.



A. D.  
1315.

which the envy or imagination of modern agitators has ascribed to the reformed establishment; it was indulged, besides, in the exercise of many branches of the papal craft, to the great oppression of the people and the detriment and dishonor of the civil authorities. The spirit which could discover a motive to rebellion in treatment such as this, would be inconceivable, did not history furnish so many examples of the insatiable cravings of popery, and the madness of disappointed ambition.

But whatever might have been the merits of this complaint, Rome was too nearly interested to give it an impartial hearing. It would appear, indeed, as if the pope were at first undecided whether he would not give a new dynasty to his island of saints. He had commanded a truce for two years, between the English government and its opponents;<sup>a</sup> a proof that he did not *then* regard the Irish insurgents as rebels: but Bruce, distressed, it is said, for want of provisions, violated the injunction, and ended the doubts of the sovereign pontiff. In addition to this, the revolted priesthood had shown much too clearly to be easily forgiven, how cheap they were disposed to hold his supremacy, except as far as it contributed to their own views. They had expressly declared that Adrian's grant was unjust; they had presumed to remedy this newly discovered injustice by electing

<sup>a</sup> Cox, p. 98, quoting Camden.

and crowning a king for themselves : thus they had shifted the question from the mal-administration of England to the sovereignty of the Vatican, and left but one answer to its indignant majesty. The whole weight of papal influence was employed in favor of the government ;<sup>a</sup> and the custom of filling the principal sees with Englishmen proved of some use in quelling a disturbance, which it had previously contributed to raise. The leading prelates of Armagh, Dublin and Cashel, were English by birth and extraction ; however, therefore, they might be disposed to bring the civil government into subjection to the church, they could not concur in a scheme which, by separating the countries, must have ended in their own ruin. While the first of these three followed the movements of the army, distributing his blessings, and proclaiming indulgences to those who might fall in the righteous cause of pope and king ; the other two were successively entrusted with the conduct of the civil sword. Papal excommunications were fulminated against king Bruce ; against his brother Robert,

A. D.  
1318.

<sup>a</sup> Pope John, however, did not omit the opportunity of reminding the English prince of his duty to the holy see. He transmitted to Edward the Irish appeal, and a copy of Adrian's bull, desiring his serious attention to their contents. Leland calls his letter "An earnest exhortation to redress Irish grievances :—" O'Connor, much better acquainted with Roman politics, pronounces it a piece of *affected commiseration*. "While on one hand," he says, "John was writing in the language of gentle complaint, with the other he was employed in issuing excommunications against the aggrieved, for daring, without his leave, to confer the crown of Ireland on Bruce, and attempting to vindicate their liberties."—*Historical Address*, i. 134.

A. D.  
1318.

the celebrated Scottish monarch ; and against the Irish prelates and clergy who had supported the insurrection : and these formidable sentences were read at every mass within the English quarters.

Checked by this severe admonition, the Irish members of the hierarchy made no attempt henceforward, until the reign of Elizabeth, to separate their cause from that of their English brethren. The common interests of the order presented a multitude of objects, upon which the two parties might exercise an emulous zeal ; and before the lapse of three years, they had an opportunity of displaying the vigor, if not the cordiality, of their co-operation.

1322. Bruce's career having terminated at the decisive battle of Dundalk, it was now the turn of the English prince to ravage the dominions of his northern neighbour.—Scotland, hitherto protected by her poverty, and attracting but languidly the desires of the holy see, had not yet acknowledged its temporal supremacy ; and besides the reigning monarch was now under an anathema : thus the expedition had so much of the character of a religious war as recommended it to the zealous support of the papacy. The pontiff issued an edict—whether as supreme lord of Ireland, or in his spiritual capacity as head of the church, it is not easy to determine—granting to Edward a subsidy of a tenth of the revenues of his Anglo-Irish subjects for two years. The laity submissively obeyed the mandate, paying the required contributions, and leading their troops

into Scotland ; but the clergy, with the thunder of St. Peter still ringing in their ears, proved refractory. They demanded a sight of the original bull ; and as, for some reason which history has not recorded, this could not or would not be allowed them, they persisted in their refusal and eluded the tax.<sup>a</sup> Such were the subdued and spirit-broken priests, who dared not lift a voice against the oppressors of their order.

A. D.  
1322.

About the same time, there occurred an incident, of a different character from any of the preceding, but equally illustrative of that daring spirit, with which the prelates tried their power upon the highest orders in the state. The bishop of Ossory summoned dame Alice Ketler, a woman of some rank, with her family and dependents, before his spiritual court, to answer to a charge of witchcraft. She was accused of going through Kilkenny every evening between complin and curfew, sweeping the refuse of the streets towards her son's door, and muttering this incantation as she went :

To the house of William my son,  
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny town.

It was also said that she made assignations, near a certain cross-road, with an evil spirit whose name the bishop discovered to be Robin Artysson ; and that on these occasions she feasted her paramour upon nine red cocks and some unknown

<sup>a</sup> Leland, i. 282.



A. D.  
1324.

number of peacocks' eyes. The last allegation against her was, that various implements of sorcery had been found in her house ; particularly, a sacramental wafer having the name of the devil imprinted on it, and a staff upon which, when duly oiled for an expedition, she and her accomplices were accustomed to ride all the world over. Such things would be ridiculous, were they not made the pretext for atrocities at which nature shudders. One of her domestics was condemned and executed ; her son thrown into prison ; the lady herself happening to escape on the charge of witchcraft, was put to trial a second time, upon an accusation of heresy, found guilty, and sentenced to the flames ; and Adam Duff, a gentleman of considerable family in Leinster, was seized at the same time and burned as a heretic. The lord Arnold De la Poer, seneschal of the palatinate to which Kilkenny then belonged, having interested himself in favor of these unhappy persons, was involved by the bishop in the same accusation ; and upon his appealing to the lord deputy, the undaunted prelate extended his charge to that personage himself.

The head of the civil government was now formally arraigned of heresy before the bishops : and the business of the state—not of the executive department only ; but of the parliament which was then sitting, and of the law courts, for the lieutenancy was at this time filled by the chancellor—was interrupted, until the majesty of the church

should announce its awful decision. The investigation was long and solemn; the lord justice made it appear, that his accuser was actuated by personal resentment against De la Poer; and that as to himself, he had given no other ground of offence or suspicion, than his interference on behalf of an injured man: he was acquitted and pronounced a true son of the church; and sacrificing the vanity of station to a natural impulse of joy, he celebrated his narrow escape, with an entertainment open to all who chose to be his guests. But in the mean time, the unfortunate nobleman who had besought his protection, experienced the bitterness of episcopal vengeance. It was the law in those days, that when a bishop gave a certificate, under his sign manual, of the excommunication of a layman, the civil authorities were obliged to act upon it; the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* was issued in the king's name, and the offender seized and thrown into prison. This had been done in the case of De la Poer: the king's lieutenant was satisfied of the man's innocence, yet he could not withhold the writ for his apprehension; and instead of affording effectual assistance, was himself in the same danger. While the powerless patron was engaged in his own defence, the client had perished in a dungeon; and as he died unabsolved, the persecution was extended to his remains: the bishop, inaccessible to the weakness of humanity, condemned the body to exposure until the progress of decay had ren-

A. D.  
1324.

A. D.  
1324.

dered interment indispensable. Much was still to be done and suffered before the zeal of the prelate could be appeased. Disappointed in his hope of burning the lord deputy, he resolved to degrade him into an instrument of his vengeance upon others: he represented the case at the court of Rome in such terms as best accorded with his malice or fanaticism; and a papal brief was dispatched to the king, desiring that he would issue an order to his chief governor and other officers of state in Ireland, to assist the bishop of Ossory and his brother prelates in the extirpation of heresy.<sup>a</sup>

1346.

“King Edward the Third,” says Spencer,<sup>b</sup> “being greatly crossed and bearded by the lords of the clergy in Ireland; they being there, by reason of the lords abbots and others, too many for him, so that for their frowardness he could not order and reform things as he desired, was advised to direct out his writs to certain gentlemen of the best abilities and trust, entitling them therein barons, to sit and serve as barons in the next parliament; by which means he had so many barons in parliament, that he was able to weigh down the clergy and their friends.” Thus reinforced, the king obtained a vote for a subsidy, which was to be levied on church lands as well as those of the laity; but the prelates, though de-

<sup>a</sup> Cox, p. 108. Camden, p. 182. Leland, i. 284.

<sup>b</sup> *View of the State of Ireland*, 216.

A. D.  
1346.

feated within the house, resolved to renew the contest outside. The archbishop of Cashel, supported by his suffragans of Limerick, Emly and Lismore, published an edict, that all beneficed priests who presumed to pay their allotted portion of the subsidy, should be deprived of their livings, and declared incapable of future preferment; and that for the like offence, the vassals of the church should be excommunicated, and their descendants to the third generation excluded from holy orders. Not satisfied with this severity, the archbishop proceeded to the county town, in the habit of his order, and with the attendance suited to the most solemn exercise of his functions; and there publicly pronounced an excommunication upon the king's commissioner of revenue, and upon all others who should procure, pay, or in any manner contribute to, the levying of the subsidy from lands or persons belonging to the church. Informations were exhibited against the prelates for those outrages. They pleaded *Magna Charta*,<sup>a</sup> by which,

<sup>a</sup> The champions of the present Roman Catholic hierarchy are fond of referring to *Magna Charta*, as a proof that the order is not inimical to liberty. It would be well if, in the intervals of what may almost be called their professional labours, they examined that celebrated compact: they would then learn, that it gives to the clergy enormous power, to the barons and knights, a monopoly of those privileges which the modesty of the church declined, and to the mass of the people, nothing. The only article of the great charter, which notices the serfs, or villains of the soil, at that time the most numerous body of men in England, has an obvious reference to the interests of their masters. A serf could not forfeit his plough, cart, or other implements of husbandry;—because, if deprived of these, he could no longer minister to the barbarous plenty of the lord to whose estate he belonged.—See Hume, ii. 88.



A. D.  
1346.

they said, it was provided, that the church should be free ; or, as they endeavoured to explain the phrase, that it should be exempt from the laws and imposts of the civil power ; and that all who violated this immunity should be punished with excommunication. Their plea being rejected and the cause given against them, these froward lords refused to appear in arrest of judgment, and the timidity of government suffered the controversy to die away. Thus the church triumphed in its very defeats ; and one of the greatest of the English monarchs, a conqueror, who had routed the warlike clans of Scotland and dispersed the chivalry and the fleets of France, was “crossed and bearded” without resistance or redress, by the termagant ecclesiastics of Ireland.<sup>a</sup>

1367. There were two methods, each having its own recommendations, by which all the inhabitants of Ireland might have been made to coalesce into one people. The ancient race might have been compensated for much actual suffering, and for the wound inflicted upon their honest national pride, by admittance to the superior comforts and privileges of Englishmen : or on the other hand, the colonists might have been allowed to blend with the great mass of their new neighbours, and to adopt the land in which fortune had placed them, as their own country. The first would have been the more acceptable to the multitude ; the second, the more conciliatory to the nobles ; a

<sup>a</sup> Leland, i. 311.

A. D.  
1367.

policy judiciously attempered of both might have moulded the social state of Ireland into something better, perhaps, than any which now exists in either island. But unhappily, the course pursued only added new stimulants to that mutual antipathy, with which their relative circumstances had inspired the races ; and left little to be effected by religious rancour. It has been already seen, that the first of these modes of union had been prevented by the bishops of one generation ; the second was now opposed by those of another, and with the same fatal success. In the lieutenancy of Lionel, duke of Clarence, a parliament was held at Kilkenny, which passed an act memorable above all others in the sad annals of Irish legislation, and very generally known as **THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY**. It was decreed by this statute, that marriage, nurture of infants, or gossipred with the Irish, or submission to the Irish law, should be considered and punished as high treason. Again, if any man of English race should use the Irish dress or language, or take an Irish name, or observe any rule or custom of the Irish, he was to forfeit lands and tenements, until he had given security in the court of chancery, that he would conform in every particular to the English manners. Further, it was made highly penal, to present a mere Irishman<sup>a</sup> to an ecclesiastical benefice, or

<sup>a</sup> That is, not simply an Irishman by birth and descent, for a vast majority of the established clergy were of that description, but one who had not purchased a charter of denization, and con-

A. D.  
1367.

receive him into a monastery or other religious house ; to entertain an Irish bard, minstrel, or story-teller ; or—to admit an Irish horse to graze on the pasture of an Englishman !

It appears to have been from the same circumstances, that this parliament was convened so far south as Kilkenny, and that no bishops but those of the southern dioceses assisted in its deliberations. During the invasion of Edward Bruce, the English inhabitants had been nearly extirpated out of Ulster and the adjacent parts of Connaught ; and thenceforward, until the great plantation under James the First, the country north of Dundalk,

formed to the English usages, civil *and religious*. It had been enacted at Cashel, that the Irish church should be assimilated in its rites and discipline to that of England : but we are informed by the decisive testimony of Dr. Lanigan, that, wherever the natives maintained their independence, “clergy and people followed their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held.” Many will be scandalized at this information : it is however unquestionable, that in those distant times, as well as the present, there were *two churches in Ireland* ; the one, the church of the parliament and the ascendant party, or, as notwithstanding its popery, it might be called in the modern phrase, the *Orange Church* ; its preachers corresponding exactly to that description which J. K. L. has given of the first Protestant ministers, following the camp of the invaders “in the name of Christ, to watch the baggage and collect the spoils ;” the other, the church of “the *Irish* clergy and people.” The former, though a plant of foreign growth, had certain facilities for striking root, and overwhelming a rival in the night shade of its branches, which the genius of Protestantism does not allow to its successor ; yet under every disadvantage the native church lingered for three centuries, and discovered some languishing symptoms of life as late as the reign of Henry the Seventh. There is yet extant a bull of pope Innocent the Eighth, dated the 8th of February, 1484, for the erection of a collegiate church at Galway. It recites, “that the people of the parish of St. Nicholas were civilized men, living in a walled town, and *observing the decency, rite,*

with the exception of a few insignificant garrisons, remained in the hands of the original possessors. The English interest lay in the southern towns, and in various colonies of settlers, distributed over a triangular space, of which Cork, Dundalk, and Galway were the extreme points, and Kilkenny might almost be considered as the centre. At Kilkenny, accordingly, the parliament assembled, as if shrinking on every side from the vengeance it was about to provoke; and the diocesans of the surrounding territory, three archbishops and five bishops, leaving their brethren of the other dis-

A. D.  
1367.

*and custom of the church of England*; and that their customs differed from those of the wild Highlandmen of that nation, who harassed them so that they could not hear the offices or receive the sacraments of the church, according to the form which *they and their ancestors* of "old time were accustomed to follow." Then follows the enactment, that the college shall consist of one warden and eight presbyters, all civilized men, and *duly holding the rites and order of the church of England in the celebration of divine service.*" It is obvious from this document, (which is given at large by Dr. Burke in his *Hibernia Dominicana*,) that those *wild Irish Highlanders*, as the pontiff rather uncourteously styles them, still adhered to their own religious ceremonies, or at least had not yet conformed to the Roman ritual. Even in the next reign we discover a circumstance, which proves that their conversion was still very incomplete. Soon after Wolsey had been created the pope's *Legate a Latere*, he manufactured a supply of bulls and dispensations for the Irish market; but his supercargo, Allen, wrote him a complaining account that the commodities went off but slowly. "The Irish," he said, "had so little sense of religion, that they married within the prohibited degrees, *without dispensations*; they also questioned his grace's authority in Ireland, especially outside the pale."—Cox, p. 210, quoting from Lib. ccc. Lambeth.

Ill would it fare with the Irishman, who should now presume to marry so irreligiously; his cow, if he had one, would be an inadequate propitiation to offended infallibility.



A. D.  
1367.  
} tricts to conciliate as they might, the exasperated natives, gave their sanction to its proscribing decrees.

Had they been content with the civil penalties of the act, it might be supposed that they had drifted, in passive servility, with the general tide of colonial politics ; but when they are found throwing the weight of their spiritual power into the scale of national hatred, we are no longer at liberty to award them this comparative praise. Whether the appetite for persecution had become importunate—whether they felt that they had an especial interest in the perpetuation of discord—or whether we ought rather to say of communities as of individuals, that men seldom forgive those whom they have greatly injured,—it is certain, that they published a formal anathema against all transgressors of the statute of Kilkenny. Thus, as if oppression were not sufficient, the most taunting insult was offered to the noblest sentiments of a people, who were at once devoted to the usages of their fathers, and deeply susceptible of religious impressions ; every thing Irish was denounced as an object of abhorrence both to God and man, and the bitterness of civil strife impregnated with the deadly poison of fanaticism. There was a cold and exquisite malevolence in this measure, attainable only by a class of beings, which had abjured, or had never known, the kindly sympathies of humanity ; and the event proved, that it was no less imprudent than unnatural. Placed

A. D.

1367.

under the double bann of the church and the lay authorities, all the English whom policy, good feeling, the natural influence of neighbourhood, or the social qualities of the natives, had taught to lay aside the arrogance of conquest, were now drawn into closer alliance with their new and only remaining connexions. Rebellions increased in strength and frequency; from Cork and Galway the jurisdiction of government was gradually narrowed to Carlow; and in the next century it became a proverb, that "they who lived west of the Barrow lived west of the English law."—It deserves to be noticed, that of the eight *Orange* prelates who attended this parliament, three were apostate Irish,<sup>a</sup> and no less than seven of papal appointment; their spiteful anathema is therefore to be ascribed, not to English insolence or English policy, but to the spirit of the order.

<sup>a</sup> These were O'Carroll, of Cashel; O'Grady, of Tuam; and O'Cormocan, of Killaloe.—See Ware's *Bishops*. "The statute of Kilkenny," says Lord Clare, "has been much extolled by Sir John Davies, as eminently qualified to reform the degenerate English, as he calls them; it seems difficult, however, to reconcile it to any principle of sound policy. It was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the pale, and from motives of personal interest or convenience, had formed connexions with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs: and it had the full effect which might have been expected; it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent district."—*Speech on the Union*, p. 5. The account of the state of Ulster after Bruce's invasion is taken from the incomparable Spencer.

A. D.  
1376.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of this body, than its early proficiency in an art which is cultivated in our own times, with rival assiduity, but by no means proportionate success;—the art of uniting the most hard-hearted oppression of the people to a factious contempt of the authority of the state, and a swaggering affectation of public spirit. Nine years after the passing of the statute of Kilkenny, we find the character of lawless violence—the proverbial reproach of the country and the time—branded alike upon the prelates and the lay lords, by the impartiality of a harassed government. In the patent issued to the earl of Ormond upon his appointment to the lieutenancy, he had been granted a general power of pardon, but in a subsequent writ, this power was explained as not extending to the pardon of “any *prelate* or earl, for an offence punishable by loss of life, member, lands, or goods.”<sup>a</sup> Justice, conscious weakness, and the obvious policy of dividing the oppressive weight of the temporal and spiritual grandees, would have prevented the executive from including the latter in this opprobrious reservation, had not the habitual outrages of the two orders displayed equal insolence, and attained equal notoriety.—In the same year a transaction took place, so far beyond the licentiousness of modern opposition, that it seems to require a particular detail. The revenue being greatly reduced,

<sup>a</sup> Cox, 132.

A. D.

1376.

and the English commons growing uneasy under the burden of supporting the Irish government, the king resolved to assemble another parliament for the purpose of obtaining a subsidy. Parliament met accordingly ; but pleaded poverty, and refused a supply. The king, provoked at this denial, dispatched writs to all the counties, cities, and dioceses in his Irish dominions, requiring that two representatives from each should be sent to attend him in England, to confer with his council concerning a subsidy and other matters of state. The returns of the bishops are good evidences of the spirit which then animated the Irish church. The archbishop of Armagh wrote thus :

“ In pursuance of this writ having called before us the clergy of our diocese, we make answer of our common opinion and assent, that according to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs of the church and land of Ireland, we are not bound to elect any of our clergy to be sent into England for the purpose of holding councils or parliaments therein ; yet because of our reverence for our illustrious lord the king of England, and the imminent and most urgent necessity of this land, we do for the present, saving to ourselves, and to the lords and commons of said land, all liberties, privileges, rights, laws, and customs aforesaid, grant unto masters John Cusack and William Fitz-Adelm, clerks, full power to go into England and appear before our lord the king, in order to treat, consult, and agree, touching the safety,



A. D.  
1376.

defence, and good government of the said land. Excepting, however, that we do not grant to our said delegates, any power of voting subsidies or other burdens upon us and our clergy," &c.

There is something in this language, which, were not the subject so grave, and the writer an archbishop, might almost be called broad irony. That "imminent and most urgent necessity," by which, next to their reverence for the crown, the prelate and his clergy were moved to waive their privileges, was nothing else but the extreme poverty of the state, the Irish revenue being now short of ten thousand pounds a year. It was to remedy this evil that the king had issued his summons ; and upon every subject *but this*, the submissive ecclesiastics give their deputies full powers.—The other returns are to the same effect ; thus :

The archbishop and clergy of Cashel sent one deputy, "to treat, consult, and agree, *saving the liberties of the church*, and the free customs of the land of Ireland." It has already appeared that the liberties of the church, as they were understood by churchmen, included exemption from all secular imposts ; so that this return is in substance the same with the former.

The archbishop of Tuam made no return.

The bishop and clergy of Meath sent one deputy, "with full power to inform and advise their lord the king concerning the state and government of the land of Ireland, *saving the liberties and customs of said land and of the churches thereof.*"

The bishop and clergy of Kildare sent two deputies ; “ with full power to treat, inform, consult, and agree, concerning the state, preservation, and good government of the land of Ireland : *but as to loading the clergy with subsidies or any other burdens than those which they already bear, they can in no wise give them any power.*”

A. D.  
1376.

The bishop and clergy of Leighlin unanimously declared “ that they were too poor to send over any deputy to their lord the king.”

The bishop and clergy of Ossory sent two deputies “ to do as the writ required, *saving the liberties of the church* and land of Ireland.”

The bishop and clergy of Ferns sent two deputies, “ with full power to do as the writ required, *saving the liberties of the church* and land of Ireland.”

The bishop and clergy of Lismore protested, that “ from their great and notorious poverty, they were unable to send any deputies to England.”<sup>a</sup>

The inhabitants of Ireland in those days were usually classed under three denominations ; liegemen, or good subjects ; Irish enemies, those who had never submitted to the government and who, indeed, were in a state of almost constant warfare with it ; and rebels, those who being subjects by birth, or having become so by voluntary submission, took up arms against the state, or at least renounced the English laws and institutions.<sup>b</sup> In the reign of

1417.

<sup>a</sup> Returns, without any saving clauses or pleas of poverty, were received from Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Cloyne, and Kerry.

<sup>b</sup> So Richard the Second, in his despatches from Ireland to the duke of York.—See *Leland*, 1, *Appendix*, No. 2.

A. D.  
1417.  
}

Henry the Fifth, so many of the prelates were of this third class, and they had so intimidated the local legislature, that the English parliament found it necessary to interpose its supreme authority. An act was passed in England, “that all archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, of the Irish nation, *rebels* to the king, that shall make any collation or presentment to benefices in the land of Ireland, or that shall bring with them any Irish rebels among the Englishmen, to the parliament, councils, or other assemblies within the said land, to learn the secrets or condition of the English subjects, their temporalities shall be seized until they fine to the king.”<sup>a</sup>—It is evident from the terms of this statute, that these “rebels to the king” were too strong, not merely for the colonial government, but for the parliament and the power of England herself: the most rebellious among them had only to pay a fine to the crown, and he was restored to his temporalities and to all the rights of a liegeman.

The same weakness of the crown, and the same intractable spirit of the hierarchy, appear in an Irish statute of the reign of Edward the Fourth. In the infancy of the English colony, the civil authorities, weak, unsettled, and distracted by frequent and sudden assaults, had sought the assistance of their spiritual ally. Judging of the Irish by themselves, the governors ascribed much mystical virtue to the sanction of an anathema:

<sup>a</sup> *Lib. MS. M. Lambeth*, quoted by Cox, p. 151. The act, as far as Cox has quoted it, does not mention the amount of the fine.

they occasionally tried its force upon some refractory chieftain ; and, upon the submission of others, bound them to articles, which contained a provision that the censures of the church should be denounced against them, in case of future revolt. But it was soon discovered, that excommunication had few terrors for an Irish lord. The thunder of the church was suffered to sleep, except when the prelates, in pursuance of their own objects, chose to draw it down upon the government itself ; and on these occasions it did some execution, the English having brought with them that full-grown awe of papal censures, which it took some centuries to mature in the minds of their ruder neighbours. Centuries, however, had now rolled away : excommunication had become formidable among the Irish, and by its spiritual terrors, combined with those more tangible penalties which were attached to it by the civil law, it might have rendered important though humiliating assistance ; but the bishops contrived to frustrate the hopes of the state, by declining to issue the necessary anathemas. An act was passed to compel them to do their duty : “ Whereas,” it decreed, “ our holy father Adrian, pope of Rome, was seized of all the seigniorship of Ireland in right of his church ; and whereas for a certain rent he alienated said seigniorship to the king of England and his heirs for ever ;<sup>a</sup> by which grant the subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the

A. D.  
1467.

<sup>a</sup> This is strenuously denied by the Irish writers, who maintain, and with perfect truth, that the pope reserved the seigniorship



A. D.  
1467.

king of England, as their sovereign lord ; it is therefore ordained, that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the excommunication of all disobedient subjects ; and if such archbishops or bishops be remiss in doing their duties in the premises, they shall forfeit one hundred pounds.”<sup>a</sup>—The miserable effort at vigor, in this enactment, only renders more manifest the subjection of the civil power to the caprices of a restive priesthood : yet the partizans of the lord deputy affected to exult in it, as a proof of a resolute and effective administration.

1486. In the next reign, (Henry VII.) the divided state of public opinion between the rival houses of York and Lancaster revived the restless ambition of the hierarchy ; and encouraged them to appear once more in open rebellion, against the united authority of pope and king. The title of the reigning prince had been confirmed by the pontiff, with the severest denunciations against all gainsayers ; his Irish government had been conducted in a moderate and conciliating spirit ;<sup>b</sup> yet all the bishops except four, English and Irish indiscriminately, with a proportionate number of the clergy, joined in the conspiracy which was formed to depose

paramount to his see.—See *Digest of Evidence, part 2, chap. 2*. O’Sullivan goes so far as to say, that the king of England was no more than a sort of chief commissioner of revenue to the pope, having the care of collecting the Peter’s-pence and other dues.

<sup>a</sup> Leland ii. 56.

<sup>b</sup> Approaching even to remissness.—See Leland’s and Ware’s accounts of this reign.

him, and to place a boy of mean extraction upon the throne of the Plantagenets. The stripling Simnel, the creature of an obscure Oxford ecclesiastic, was received by these prelates with an extravagant affectation of loyal zeal. Upon his arrival in Dublin, he was conducted in state to the cathedral of Christ-church; the bishop of Meath, in a bold discourse from the pulpit, explained and enforced his right to the throne; and a crown, taken from a statue of the Virgin in the church of *St. Mary les Dames*, was placed upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a deluded populace. When the bishops had thus carried their treason to the last extremity, they began to be visited with the same misgivings which had disturbed their predecessors in the time of Edward Bruce. To influence the counsels, or at least soften the resentment, of the Vatican, they assembled a convocation, and caused a subsidy to be voted to the holy father. Whether the grant was intended as the purchase of an absolution from the impending censures; or as a substantial proof that, however they might have erred in the choice of a subordinate ruler, they had not swerved from their fealty to the supreme lord of their order and their country; it is now impossible to determine: but whatever might have been its purpose, Rome stood firm to her own dignity and the claims of her faithful vassal. A bull was directed to the four prelates who had not leagued in the rebellion, commanding them to excommuni-

A. D.

1486.

A. D.  
1486.

cate their offending brethren; and the delinquents would have experienced the utmost severity of papal vengeance, had not the monarch declared his willingness to admit them to pardon, upon the easy terms of acknowledging their fault, and renewing their oaths of allegiance. Sir Richard Edgecumbe, the officer sent over by the king to receive the submission of the lords and prelates of the pale, has left us copies of the oaths which were taken on the occasion: they were “devised by himself, as sure as he could;” and cost him the labor of many days in the discussion of the several articles with these refractory penitents. The oath for the lay lords is on the model of the old oath of a feudal vassal; with a clause at the end, that the party “will not let, ne cause to be letted, the execution and declaration of the great censures of holy church, to be done agenst any person of what estate, degree, or condition he be, by any archbushopp, bushopp, &c. according to the authority of our most holy father pope Innocent the Eighth, that now is, agenst all theme of the king’s subgetts, that lett or trouble our sayd sovereign lord king Henry the Seventh.” The same pledges were exacted of the bishops, with an additional declaration, that “as oft as they should be required, they would execute the censures of the church, on behalf of their sovereign lord, agenst all those of his subgetts, of what dignity, degree, state, or condition he be, that letteth or troubleth their seyde sovereign lord.”

A. D.  
1486.

The attempt made to elude the force of these oaths, is a strong instance of that detestable casuistry, by which the schoolmen of the church of Rome have seared the natural susceptibility of conscience. When at length every difficulty appeared to be adjusted, it was demanded by Kildare, the leader of the rebellion, that the host on which they were to be sworn should be consecrated by one of his own chaplains. This demand involved, literally, a *mystery of iniquity*, which the rude proposer could never have fathomed for himself, and which few Roman Catholic laymen of the present day will be able to comprehend without a particular explanation. It has long been a doctrine of the papal church, republished at Trent under the sanction of a curse upon all who deny it, that the intention of the officiating priest is necessary for the validity of a religious rite. The conspirators were assured that the intention of Kildare's chaplain would be cordially in their favor: thus the form of consecration would be the juggling illusion of a mountebank; the wafer would be no host; and the protestation made upon it, "so help me *this* holy sacrament of God's body, in form of bread *here present*, to my salvation or damnation," however awful in its terms, would have no meaning, and consequently no terrors, to those, whom the prelates should initiate into

<sup>a</sup> See the *Digest of Evidence*, vol. ii. chap. 1.



A. D.  
1486.

so comfortable a secret.<sup>a</sup> But Edgecombe was aware of the perfidy of the demand ; he insisted that the mass should be celebrated by his own chaplain ; and has left us a description of the whole ceremony, which shows the appalling character of the meditated prevarication. “ This done” he says, “ the seyd erle went into a chamber where the seyd Sir Richard’s chaplain was at masse, and in the masse time, the said erle was shriven, and assoiled from the curse that he stood in by the virtue of the pope’s bull ; and before the *agnus* of the seyd masse, the host being divided into three parts, the priest turned him from the altar, holding the said three parts of the host upon the patten ; and there in the presence of many persons, the seyd erle, *holding his right hand over the holy host, made his solemn oath of ligeance* unto our soverain lord king Henry the

<sup>a</sup> On such an occasion as that mentioned above, the dogma will encourage the unprincipled villain ; but to the honestly superstitious, it abounds with consequences the most alarming. A priest cannot know whether he is lawfully called to the ministry ; his people are equally ignorant, whether his ministerial acts are valid ; the want of intention in himself, or in the bishop who ordained him, is sufficient to invalidate that he does. Thus, a matron can never be sure that she is married ; or a devotee, that he has received any one of those sacraments, which he at the same time believes to be indispensable for his salvation. All this is unaccountable, in a church which maintains her own infallibility *in order to save her votaries from doubt* ;—or rather, it would be unaccountable, did it not teach the necessity of being always on good terms with the priesthood.—The words of the Trent decree are these : “ If any one shall say that there is not required in ministers, when they consecrate and administer the sacraments, an *intention* of doing what the church does, LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.”—*Sess. 6. Canon ix.*

A. D.  
1486.

Seventh in souch forme as was afore devised ; and *in likewise the bushopps and lordes made like oath* ; and that done, and the masse ended, the seyde erle, with the seyde Sir Richard, bushopps, and lordes, went into the church of the seyde monastery, and in the choir thereof, the archbushopp of Dublyn began *Te Deum*, and the choir with the organs sung it up solemply, and all the bells in the church rung.”<sup>a</sup> But the bishops, though frustrated in this first device, had another evasion in reserve, the benefits of which did not extend to their lay associates. The oath of the latter was absolute, concluding in the manner already quoted, “so help me this holy sacrament, &c. ;” but in that of the prelates, these words were followed by a sweeping clause of exceptions, “*salvo ordine episcopali*—saving the privileges of their order ; privileges, of which themselves were the only judges, and before the sacred inviolability of which, all secular rights and secular obligations were required to give way.

This review of the conduct of the Irish hierarchy has now been brought down to the eve of the Reformation. It has appeared, that so far from making amends for the great treason of their predecessors, few generations of prelates passed away without adding some new grievance to the accumulation of national suffering. For the turbulence which they thus uniformly evinced, they had as

<sup>a</sup> Sir Richard Edgecombe's Voyage, Harris's *Hibernica*, i. 78.

A. D.  
1486.

little aggression to plead in excuse, as perhaps ever was experienced by any community in so long a lapse of years. The sovereign, besides endowing them splendidly, had placed them next, and scarcely below, himself; the aristocracy had added many and noble benefactions; and, if we are to believe their own writers, the people were distinguished for submissiveness to the church, and unblemished by a stain of heresy.<sup>a</sup> Those jealousies which arose, from time to time, between the English and Irish members of the body, had scarcely any effect upon its general policy. All had been Irish, when Ireland was sacrificed to their thirst of aggrandizement; and after English and

<sup>a</sup> Thus the well known writer under the signature of J. K. L. : "When it pleased God to have an island of saints upon the earth, he prepared Ireland from afar for this high destiny. Her attachment to the faith once delivered to her was produced by many concurrent causes, as far as natural means are employed by Providence to produce effects of a higher kind. These causes have had their influence, but there was another and a stronger power labouring in Ireland for the faith of the gospel; there was the natural disposition of the people, suited to a religion which satisfied the mind and gratified the affections.—Hence the aboriginal Irish are all Catholics; and to these are joined great numbers who have descended from the ancient settlers, and who in process of time have become more Irish than the Irish themselves."—*Letters on Ireland*, p. 58. This is not the bombast of an individual, but the uniform and established language of a school. Full two centuries before J. K. L. the world was informed by another titular prelate; "that the soil of Ireland was holy, congenial to true religion, fertile in Catholics, and reclaiming even foreigners after they have been settled here a few generations :"—and again, "Go then ye heretics, destitute of the truth, and acknowledge the wonderful providence of God and his secret counsels towards the natives of Ireland—cease to reproach the tents of the children of Israel, whom God has chosen for his peculiar people." Routh's *Analec-*

A. D.  
1486.

Irish were joined in the hierarchy, the latter were always as ready to afflict the people, as the former to insult and embarrass the prince. Enemies alike to freedom and to government, both were engaged in all those measures which entailed permanent misfortune on the country, and left a stigma upon the character of its inhabitants : <sup>a</sup> withholding the promised blessings of civilization ; blighting the fair blossom of national union with a curse ; maintaining an odious ascendancy for one race, while they subjected it in its turn to their own despotic mis-rule ; setting an example of that rapacious violence which was the prevailing vice of the times ; fomenting disaffection ; braving the executive go-

*ta Sacra*, p. 67, 74. Dr. Burke, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, has several passages in nearly the same terms. This good prelate, indeed, seems half inclined to insinuate that the instinct of orthodoxy extends to Irish horses. He tells an anecdote of James the First with great complacency : It seems that Sir Arthur Chichester, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, sent over a very fine horse to his master ; but the king—who, by the bye as we learn from that best of historians, the “ Author of Waverley,” was an indifferent horseman—eyed the present with very considerable distrust ; “ I doubt the knave’s a papist,” said the cautious monarch, and refused to mount.

<sup>a</sup> J. K. L. thus describes the mass of the people of Ireland :—“ The nation which was thus enslaved, put on all the habits which had been formed for them ; they became ferocious, individually brave, but cowards when collected together ; cunning, astute, cruel, strangers to honesty and truth.”—*Vindication*, p. 7. This humiliating description, thank God, is exaggerated ; but at all events, the national character, however barbarous he may be pleased to consider it, had been fully formed before the Reformation. How will he exculpate his own hierarchy from the charge of having contributed, *chiefly* contributed, to the corruption of a people, whose capabilities are acknowledged to be of the very highest order ?



A. D.  
1486.



vernment ; stripping the laws of their authority ; and spurning even the mediation of him whom they affected to venerate as the vice-gerent of the Almighty, whenever it happened to be exerted in favor of public tranquillity. Upon the whole, during a period of more than three centuries, amidst much indiscretion and wonderful versatility, one purpose appears to have animated the order ; that of drawing to itself the domestic government of the country, and of establishing this dominion upon the trampled rights and pretensions of all other classes of men.

It is not to be supposed, that, as soon as the civil government had acquired competent strength, some effort would not be made to repress this extravagant ambition of the hierarchy, and provide for the sober exercise of its legitimate powers. The lay aristocracy, however little inclined, in other instances, either to co-operate with the state or give the people a chance of liberty, were too much interested in such a measure to refuse it their active concurrence. The lords of English descent, irritated by a too successful rivalry ; the Irish, still brooding over the original treachery of the church and its many bitter consequences to themselves ; and both, turbulent, eager for ascendancy, and accustomed to refer every thing to the arbitration of the sword, would naturally rejoice in the downfall of this arrogant order. Accordingly, when Henry the Eighth asserted his claim to the complete sovereignty of the island, all the nobles

A. D.  
1540.

arrayed themselves on the side of the crown ; they abolished the subordinate title of *lord*, the only one which the pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him King of Ireland and supreme head of the church. This unanimity was not confined to that body of the nobility which conformed to the English customs, and which usually took a share in the administration of public affairs. Those powerful and refractory chieftains, who had hitherto maintained a dubious struggle against the utmost force of the state, came forward on this occasion, with rival zeal for the honor of royalty, and the strongest professions of their undivided allegiance. Desmond was the first who presented himself : on the 16th of January, 1540, he executed a written indenture in which he “ utterly denied, and promised to forsake, the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and engaged to resist and repress the same, and all that should by any means uphold or maintain it.” Shortly after, O'Connor and O'Dunne gave similar pledges. O'Donel, in his indenture bearing date the 6th of August, 1542, declares that “ he will renounce, relinquish, and to the best of his power annihilate, the usurped authority of the Roman pontiff ; that he will by no means harbour, or allow in his country, those who adhere to the said pontiff, but will with all diligence expel, eject, and eradicate them, or bring them into subjection to our said lord the king.” His example was followed in a week after by Mac Mahon. In the January

A. D.  
1540.

following, O'Neil, the acknowledged leader of the northern Irish, met the king's commissioners at Maynooth, and entered into similar engagements; and in the course of that year the same was done by O'Brien, the first chieftain of Munster; by O'More, O'Rourke, Mac Donel; and by the head of the De Burgos, who was now known by the Irish title of Mac William. This conduct of the great lords was emulously imitated by those of inferior rank. From Connaught, from Meath, from the remotest regions of the south and north, all the most turbulent heads of the Irish tribes, all those of the old English race who had adopted Irish manners and lived for ages in rude independence, vied with each other in declarations of fidelity to the king, and executed their indentures in the amplest forms of submission.<sup>a</sup>

As these deeds are objects of considerable in-

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 178, 182. Cox, 268, 271. O'Connor, *Historical Address*, ii. 279. Roman Catholic writers of the popish class are exceedingly puzzled to account for this conduct of the Irish lords: the following explanation by Dr. Burke is absurd enough; yet it is the only direct attempt at a solution, which I have been able to discover. "Ireland continued in this anomalous state until the reign of Henry the Eighth; but this prince, in consequence of the title of "*Defender of the Faith*," which he received from the holy see, so captivated the affections of the Irish, that he enjoyed a greater power over them than any of his predecessors. Hence, *even after the schism*, he was pronounced *king of Ireland* by the parliament held at Dublin in 1541."—*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 30. That is to say, they were so delighted with *his orthodoxy*, that, *after he became a heretic*, they decreed him a heretical title of honor:—it was inconvenient to the good bishop to recollect that they styled Henry not only king, but head of the church.

terest, and are all drawn up in nearly the same terms, a copy of one of them is inserted here.

A. D.  
1540.



“THIS indenture, made on the 26th day of September, 34 Henry the Eighth, between the Right Honorable Anthony St. Leger, &c. on the one part, and the Lord Barry, *alias* Barrymore or the great Barry; Mac Carty More; the lord Roche; Mac Carty Reagh; Thadeus M'Cormick, lord of Muskry; Barry Oge, *alias* the young Barry; O'Sullivan Beare, Captain of his nation; Donald O'Sullivan, first of his house; Barry Roe, *alias* the red Barry; Mac Donough of Allow, head of his nation; Donald O'Callaghan, first of his house; and Gerald Fitz John, knight, on the other part; doth witness, that the said Lord Barry &c. do agree, consent, and engage, jointly and separately, for themselves, their heirs, successors, assigns, tenants, and followers, that they will hold and perform all and singular articles, pledges, and conditions, which are contained on their part in said indenture.

“*Imprimis.* They, and each of them, do and doth acknowledge the king's majesty aforesaid, to be their natural and liege lord; and will honor, obey, and serve him, and the king's his successors, against all creatures of the universe. And they will accept and hold his said majesty, and the king's his successors, as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland; and they will obey and serve his lieutenant, or deputy, in this kingdom.



A. D.  
1540.

of Ireland, in all things concerning the service of his said majesty or of the kings his successors. And, as far as lieth in their power, jointly or separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and will expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors, and partizans ; and will maintain, support, and defend, all persons, spiritual and temporal, who shall be promoted to church benefices or dignities by the king's majesty or other rightful patron ; and will apprehend and bring to justice, to be tried according to the laws made or to be made in such behalf, all who apply for provision to the bishop of Rome, or who betake themselves to Rome in quest of promotion, &c.”<sup>a</sup>

The sense, in which the papal supremacy was thus quietly set aside to make way for that of the king, is naturally an object of some curiosity. Of theology these Irish lords knew nothing ; they were unaccustomed to any general reasoning, and if the whole truth must be told, some of them had not advanced so far in literary acquirements as to be able to write their names. Yet the early annals of the country, and the more recent usages of those districts which had struggled to maintain their internal economy against the encroachments of Rome and England, taught them to arrive at a just decision, without descending into those polemical labyrinths which they were so little qualified to explore. They had learned from these

<sup>a</sup> Cox, 272, quoting from the council book at Dublin Castle.

A. D.  
1540.

sources, that almost every principality in Ireland had, for many centuries, its own mode of celebrating divine service; that their chieftains had been invested with the patronage and government of the ecclesiastics of their respective territories; and that the pretended right of the popes, to nominate to church dignities, to demand first fruits and other taxes, to exempt churchmen from secular tribunals, to hold separate courts, to enforce canons, independent of, and sometimes contrary to, the law of the country; had been unknown in Ireland, until they claimed it as a province of the royalties of their see.<sup>a</sup>

From such facts the inference was easy: every independent state was competent to regulate for itself the forms of its public worship, the government and succession of its hierarchy, and other branches of ecclesiastical discipline. In these respects, the Irish princes of former times had been virtually heads of the churches in their respective districts, although the general simplicity of manners had prevented the formal assumption of the title. The subscribers to the indentures were, therefore, prepared to regard them as the just prerogatives of royalty; and to transfer them accordingly, with the other attributes of temporal dominion, from the successor of St Peter to the king of England.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>b</sup> "It is very well known," says Dr. O'Connor, "that when Henry the Eighth renounced the pope's supremacy, our chiefs,

A. D.  
1540.

These reasonings of the chieftains were quickened not a little by personal considerations. It was their great object, as well as that of the prelates, that whoever might enjoy the nominal sovereignty, the internal and efficient administration of Irish affairs should be possessed by themselves : they had been outstripped in this career of factious ambition by the superior address and perseverance of their clerical rivals, and they now gladly embraced the opportunity of a triumph. They saw that the only way of effectually putting down this formidable competition, was by cutting off altogether that papal jurisdiction, of which even the delegated exercise had given the prelates a mortifying and oppressive ascendancy : nor is it probable that they were blind to other advantages, which the present turn of affairs had thrown open to their contemplation. Unless the government became much stronger—and it would be

believing that he meant only to renounce the *temporal* supremacy, joined him in that renunciation. In their fourth general submission, which was made in the 33d of Henry the Eighth, they unanimously acknowledged by indenture, that he was their sovereign lord and king ; confessing his supremacy in all causes, and utterly renouncing the pope's jurisdiction in all manner of *temporals*, both in *church* and *state*."—*Historical Address, Introduction*, xxxviii. I have made this extract from a Roman Catholic writer, chiefly because it inculcates an important truth, which is overlooked by too many Protestants. Jurisdiction over a church is in a great measure, *temporal* jurisdiction ; particularly if the church be one which, like the Roman Catholic, spreads its rules and its organization, both deeply and widely, among the mass of its lay members and the concerns of ordinary life. The priests are *men*, they are also *magistrates* ; they are governed, and in their turn they govern others, by human motives ; yet the GOVERNMENT, as it is called, has no control in the business.

always in their power to obviate such a result—that control over ecclesiastics which they were now apparently conferring on the crown, would in a great measure devolve upon themselves. It was evident, too, from the conduct of the king in England, that a great share of the property of the church was destined to fall into their hands ; and occasions could not fail to arise for securing a portion, if not a monopoly, of the patronage of the remainder.

A. D.  
1540.



This good humour of the aristocracy, at the humiliation of a rival order and their own brightening prospects, banished for a while those feelings and pretensions, which had hitherto given most uneasiness to the government. O'Neil, whose progenitors had always affected the dignity of sovereign princes, waited on the king at Greenwich, and, after the amplest protestations of fidelity, condescended to accept the title of earl of Tyrone. O'Brien, in like manner, sunk the pomp of his feudal name in the earldom of Thomond ; De Burgo, whose family for many generations had laid aside the English manners, submitted to be known henceforward as earl of Clanrickarde ; the haughty chieftains O'Donel and Mac Carthy became earls respectively of Tyrconnel and Glencar ; and the humility of some inferior potentates was content with the title of baron. Desmond renounced that fantastic privilege on which his house, in imitation of the native lords and the ancient warriors of Gaul and Germany, had so long insisted,



A. D.  
1540.

of exemption from appearance within a walled town : he promised to attend parliament, and even to pay taxes, aye, as liberally as Ormond himself ;<sup>a</sup> resumed his long unoccupied seat at the council board, and assisted the lord deputy in receiving submissions. Others gave still more unequivocal proofs of loyalty. The chieftain of Tyrconnel, whose family was well known both at Rome and Paris, resisted the artifices by which Francis the First endeavoured to seduce him into a revolt ; and when the son of that Fitzpatrick, whose ambassador had formerly amused the king with his threats of war, was detected in some treasonable practices, he was delivered up to public justice by the hands of his own father. In fine, for the first time recorded in her annals, Ireland was now at peace under one acknowledged sovereign. So universal was the tranquillity, that a considerable body of troops was spared for the king's service before Boulogne, where an Irishman had the honor of defeating the French champion ; and another force of three thousand men was sent into Scotland to the aid of the lord Lenox.<sup>b</sup> Even the great feud between the two races was forgotten for a season ; and while English and Irish crowded together from all quarters of the

<sup>a</sup> The house of Ormond was the great rival of the Desmonds, or rather indeed, their natural enemy ; being as generally on the side of the crown as the others were in opposition.—The Whigs and Tories of those days held their debates in the field.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, ii. 182, 186.

island to receive law from the throne, the loyal impulse with which they were animated, seemed already to have borne its most appropriate fruits, in the feeling of a common country and the kindly affections of neighbourhood.

A. D.  
1540.

This unanimity is the more remarkable, as being in defiance of the denunciations of the Vatican. Eight years had now elapsed since Paul the Third passed final sentence upon Henry ; “that terrible thundering bull,” as it is called by a Roman Catholic,<sup>a</sup> in which he not only dethroned the sturdy monarch, but pronounced him infamous, cut him off from Christian burial, and doomed him “to eternal curse and damnation.” The interval had been employed, with all the vigilance and skill of the papacy, in endeavouring to prepare a formidable opposition to the tardy movements of the Irish government. Chronicles had been discovered or invented, in which Ireland was called the holy island ; and thence was drawn a convincing argument, that the country belonged to the holy see. Instructions had been issued to the bishops in the Roman interest, that an oath of allegiance to the pope, “in all things, spiritual and temporal,” should be administered to the people at the time of confession : curses had been denounced against all who should acknowledge the impious claims of Henry ; and indulgences

<sup>a</sup> Father Peter Walsh.—*History of Irish Remonstrance, Introduction*, xi.

A. D.  
1543.

offered to the faithful followers of the pontiff.<sup>a</sup> The inexhaustible store-house of prophecy, which Rome possesses among her other spiritual treasures, was opened on this great occasion; and an effort was made to stimulate the warlike propensities of the chieftains, by placing them in the Thermopylæ of the catholic cause.<sup>b</sup> But all these appeals, whether to superstition or to enthusiasm, proved unsuccessful: it was too obvious that the opposition of Rome and its partizans was nothing more than a struggle for temporal dominion, and not a sword was drawn in the quarrel of the ecclesiastics.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cox, 257.

<sup>b</sup> The following letter was written to O'Neil by the bishop of Metz, in the name of the council of Cardinals:

"My Son O'Neil,

"Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, the present pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one saint Lazerianus, an Irish archbishop of Cashel. It saith, that the church of Rome shall surely fall when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honor of saint Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his holiness. You see, that when the Roman faith perisheth in Ireland, the see of Rome is fated to utter destruction. The council of cardinals have therefore thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy island in this pious cause: being assured that while the mother church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some degree at least, in Britain.

Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of saint Peter, saint Paul, and all the host of heaven. Amen."—*Leland*, ii. 172.

<sup>c</sup> O'Connor has fully proved, in opposition to Leland, that O'Neil's insurrection, which was terminated by the battle of Bellahoe, was a predatory adventure, not a religious war.—*Historical Address*, i. 23.

A. D.  
1543.

There is good reason to believe that, had Ireland been in any other stage of its social progress, the papal party would have been easily overthrown. Few affect to deny, that if the great mass of the people had been somewhat more elevated above their ancient habits and prejudices, the Reformation would have made more considerable advances: perhaps it is equally probable, that had their feudal attachments remained unimpaired, they would have followed without enquiry the example of their lords, and passed on insensibly in course of time from political to religious Protestantism. But unhappily, the Reformation was introduced precisely at the juncture when the old system of clanship was beginning to moulder away; a system, for which it is so difficult to find a substitute among a half-employed and half-civilized population. The dissolution of it, however necessary to the perfect settlement of the country, and the final triumph of liberty and law, was unseasonably urged at a time, when another most important measure was giving full employment to the utmost energies of the state. Two evils arose from this precipitancy. One was, that the nobles became distrustful, at the very crisis when their cordial co-operation was most necessary: scarcely had they testified their unanimous satisfaction at the reduction of a rival power, when they discovered the intention of the government to complete its



A. D.  
1543.

work of conquest by the demolition of their own.<sup>a</sup> It was another and a greater misfortune, that the multitude, left to themselves while as yet they were incapable of self-direction, were now in a state of destitution, not of liberty. The sense of their own helplessness, awakened by this new condition, was a kindred consciousness to that panic alarm with which superstition haunts its victims; and, under the combined influence of these two feelings, it is no wonder that they threw themselves into the hands of their priests, the only hands which were extended to receive them. There they have remained to this day; and the power which wields them has ever since been enabled to re-act, upon the higher classes of their communion, upon Ireland, and upon the empire.

<sup>a</sup> I am glad to find that my view of the subject concurs with that of Dr. O'Connor. "Down to the accession of the house of Stuart," he says, "there was yet remaining amongst the common Irish a spirit of elanship, which operated most powerfully to subordination.—This was gradually eradicated, and no adequate principle substituted in its stead."—*Historical Address, Introduction*, xxviii.

## APPENDIX.

## NOTE A.

THESE feelings are well expressed in a clever pamphlet of the year 1804, entitled "A Vindication of Dr. Troy." In reply to some slighting expression which had been used towards that prelate, the anonymous author, who is supposed to have been Dr. Troy himself, writes thus: "He is a bishop, sir, and as such is acknowledged by eighty-seven millions of men in Europe: he has colleagues apostles, and colleagues princes; and kings, and the successor of Charlemagne, would incline to his blessing, and style him *Most Reverend*, to whom you refuse the protection of an alien in his native land."——This spirited sentence contains ample proof of a Roman Catholic bishop's title to respect from all men: it contains also, in the same words, the grounds of that jealousy with which, at least, under a Protestant government, his order should be regarded. He who thus claims the homage of foreign kings, and is sustained by that conscious dignity which belongs to a leader of eighty-seven millions, to a colleague of princes, to a colleague of apostles—*such as they are now*, seated perhaps on thrones of judgment,—cannot be contemplated without uneasiness by a sovereign who protests against these high pretensions, and declines the stately

*App.* benediction. There are three points in this high toned  
NOTE A. vindication which require particular notice; the majesty of  
 the office, its antiquity, and the extent of that mighty  
 confederacy in which it occupies so conspicuous a station.

A papal bishop is a colleague of princes. The church of Rome is a state, a spiritual monarchy; and the sovereign pontiff, the vicar of Christ on earth, is entitled in this lower world to the same place and station which the glorified Messiah holds in heaven. *There*, the various orders of intelligences are formed into one church or one kingdom; and the rulers of these orders, "thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers," bow down before one supreme head. *Here*, in like manner, the representative of Christ is supreme over the typical church, and all other potentates are rightfully subject to his authority. And as, in this probationary state, the complex nature of men requires two kinds of government, the one to provide for his temporal interests, the other for his eternal; there is a corresponding diversity in the nature of the powers which emanate from the sovereign. He is the fountain both of kingly and of priestly honor: *bishops and princes are colleagues under him*, deriving from him their consecration and office, and exercising jurisdictions, which, in respect of each other, are co-ordinate and independent.

A papal bishop is a colleague of the apostles. The papacy supports the doctrine of apostolic succession, not only as conservative of church unity and ministerial power, but as inspiring lofty human feelings. By the ceremony of consecration a bishop is, as it were, adopted into a family of more than earthly nobility; and is taught to discern, in spirit, the venerable forms of his fathers ascending in long procession from this probationary scene, until, with the apostles, they encircle the mystical throne of the Messiah. He mingles with men who gave laws to the fiercest tribes,

and who lowered the sword of the conqueror and the sceptre of the monarch, in homage to the milder glory of the mitre: he is their descendant;—the remoter his descent, the more exalted is his honor,——and when he looks for the obeisance of an earthly potentate, he expects no more than what the tradition of his house pronounces to be a hereditary right.

A papal bishop is a peer of that stupendous empire, which extends over the globe, and comprises a majority of the Christian world. As such, he is naturally a politician; he has a certain theory, peculiar to his order and its retainers, of civil rights and duties, of liberty, of sovereignty, and jurisprudence. No public event can occur, which may not affect the temporal fortune of the church: a spirit of action and intrigue is therefore infused into all the members of the hierarchy, and every bishop has a sort of official interest in the affairs and relations of the most distant countries. Bound to the papacy by an oath without a parallel in the annals of despotism, and by the more attractive obligation of a common interest, he mingles in all transactions, and takes a part in all revolutions and intrigues, with a view to the extension and consolidation of its power. Like the envoy or minister of any foreign government, he observes the laws of the state in which his master may have placed him, and respects, for the time, the authority of the local magistrate: but his order is his country, the pontiff is his natural sovereign; and their welfare and their honor are the appropriate objects of his public cares.

As far, then, as the prelates of the Roman church in Ireland can be justly styled “aliens in their native land,” their estrangement arises from the spirit of the order, both as it cherishes claims inconsistent with the laws, and as it merges the charities of patriotism in a diffusive policy, which embraces so many millions of strangers, perhaps

*App.*  
NOTE A.  




*App.* of enemies. But as proofs are not so striking as illustrations, it may be useful to annex an example of its evil influence in each of these respects.

NOTE A.

Had Dr. Troy been writing his name and title in the Irish language, he would have styled himself *Successor of Laurence O'Toole*; <sup>a</sup> and in the same manner, his brother prelates would denominate themselves after the founders or most eminent bishops of their respective sees. These titles, if they do not inspire feelings of elevated piety, are calculated, at least, to suggest lofty aspirations after secular honors, and prolong the contest for power. Combined with the form of *an established church*, which is punctiliously maintained, they keep the thoughts fixed on the apostacy, and breach of faith, of the English government, and on the splendor, the political importance, and the projects, of the early bishops: thus animosity is perpetuated, dignity given to intrigue, and ambition invested with somewhat of the sacredness of duty. *Sequi finemque tueri*, was the armorial legend of the exiled house of Stuart; a motto admirably expressive of pretensions which were to terminate only with the race:—the Stuart church is equally tenacious of its claims, and not so perishable as the family.

The potentate distinguished from ordinary kings by the sounding title of “successor of Charlemagne,” was no other than Buonaparte. He was crowned the same year in which the pamphlet was written; and as the coronation did not take place until the second of December, Dr. Troy, or his vindicator, must have been among

<sup>a</sup> The Irish word is *Comorban*, pronounced *Corban*:—its exact meaning, which gave Ussher a great deal of trouble, is rendered in Latin by *Vicarius cum jure successionis*. I have seen the arms of Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Troy's predecessor, with an Irish scroll underneath, in which that prelate is styled “Comorban of Lorcan O'Tuathal.” The arms were precisely the same as those of the *Protestant* archbishop. Dr. Troy surmounted *his* with a cardinal's hat in the place of a mitre.

App.  
NOTE A.

the first to recognize the new emperor. For several years before, the known infidelity of the French had been the great sedative of popish<sup>a</sup> insurrection in Ireland; and the ingenuity of the rebel leaders appears to have been much exercised in endeavours to counteract its lethargic influence. Mc. Nevin declared, in the confession which procured his pardon, that in the year 1797, information had been transmitted to the French directory, "that the priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been published of French irreligion, and that they were rendering great service, by the zeal and discretion with which they propagated the system of the United Irishmen." Whatever may be doubtful—perhaps we might say, false—in this story, it proves, at least, the strength of the barrier which religious feelings interposed, at that time, between the great mass of our common people and French overtures of fraternization. But, by the events of 1804, things assumed a very different aspect. France was once more a Catholic country; the arch-apostate himself had been "consecrated by the vicar of Christ with holy and solemn rites;"<sup>b</sup> and now, in his high station as successor of Charlemagne and presumptive founder of a new dynasty, was ready to incline to the blessing of Dr. Troy. At the same time, a French armament was in preparation for the invasion of Ireland.—See *A letter to Dr. Troy on the coronation of Buonaparte by Pius the Seventh. Third edition, Dublin, 1805.*

As the papal prelates, both in England and Ireland, took a considerable interest in these transactions between Buonaparte and their master, a few further particulars may, perhaps, not be unacceptable in this place. Up to

<sup>a</sup> The reader must never forget the distinction between popish and Roman Catholic.

<sup>b</sup> *Sacro solennique ritu consecratio peracta est*, are the pontiff's own words in his bulletin, upon the occasion, to the college of cardinals.

*App.* 1800, the Roman government had opposed the Revolution with all its energy; and in the March of that year, when Pius the Seventh was elected to the tiara, he announced his accession to Lewis the Eighteenth, as the legitimate sovereign of France. In 1801, however, that pontiff absolved the French from their allegiance to the Bourbons, and executed a concordat with Buonaparte; in 1804, he raised the First Consul to the imperial dignity; in 1805, crowned him king of Italy; and to complete the settlement of the new order of things, he confirmed to the actual occupiers, "in opposition," says Mr. Butler, "to the crying claims of the lawful owners," the property which had been confiscated by the revolutionary governments. These proceedings of the Vatican were opposed very warmly, and very naturally, by the exiles: a remonstrance to the Pope was published by thirty-eight archbishops and bishops, and a vigorous controversy maintained for some years. The chief writers were, on the side of the emigrants, the abbé Blanchard, who received the thanks of the ejected bishops both in England and Germany; and on that of the Pope and Buonaparte, the late Dr. Milner, the Vicar Apostolic of the middle district in England. After the interchange of some pamphlets between these disputants, Dr. Gibson, the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, where Blanchard then resided, came officially to the aid of his brother, and issued a censure, accompanied by a sentence of suspension from the sacraments, against the Frenchman. Blanchard, not yet subdued, published a fresh defence, in which he appealed to the judgment of the Irish hierarchy. A formal synod was accordingly held by that body, in June 1809. The prelates pronounced, "that Pope Pius the Seventh, had validly, and agreeably to the spirit of the sacred canons, exerted the powers belonging to the apostolical see;—and that they accepted, approved, and concurred with,

the said acts of Pius the Seventh, as good, rightful, authentic, and necessary." They also declared that the opinions of Blanchard, "inasmuch as they regarded the restoration and settlement of the churches in France, were false, calumnious, and scandalous, manifestly tending to schism, most dangerous to the peace and unity of the church, exciting and inviting to schism, usurping *ecclesiastical jurisdiction*, and subversive of *church authority*." <sup>a</sup>

App.  
NOTE A.

That this conduct of the titular prelate, considering the matter simply as a problem in ethics, was perfectly irreproachable, will be readily granted by every ingenuous man who considers the nature of their obligations. Their first duty was to the church; and there was every reason to believe that the interests of the church would be materially promoted, were its sanction extended to the new establishments of France, civil and ecclesiastical.<sup>b</sup> It is probable that they would have felt themselves relieved from a very irksome burden, had they been able so to attemper the discharge of this duty, as to separate, effectually, the spiritual and the temporal question. But so intimate had been the union between the church and the state under the old *regime*, and so connected the inroads of the revolution upon both, that the prelates were obliged, however reluctantly, to involve the two interests in one common decision. The evil would have been more toler-

<sup>a</sup> Will it be pretended, by any one who reads these two *unanimous* decrees of the Irish hierarchy, that no more information is requisite than has been given in *The Evidence*, with respect to the *sacred canons*, the *powers of the apostolic see*, and *church authority* in general?—The facts stated, and documents referred to, in the text, are given upon the concurrent authority of two adverse writers, one a Jansenist, the other a Jesuit. See Dr. O'Connor, *Columbanus*, 6, and Mr. Plowden's *Historical Letter to Columbanus*.

<sup>b</sup> The Pope has no concern with the principle of legitimacy, or with any other merely temporal principle: but it is his concern, *any thing to the contrary in those principles notwithstanding*, to provide that the church shall be exalted. (See the *Digest of Evidence*, vol. 2, chap. 5.) The same rule applies to the bishops or any body of them.



*App.*  
NOTE A.

able, had their interference been limited to a foreign country: but unfortunately, they could not fulfil their paramount obligations without endangering the safety of their "native land," and of the prince who considered them as his natural subjects. The united kingdom was then engaged in a desperate contest with France; a contest, which, by whatever name some eminent men may now choose to entitle it, was generally pronounced by the loyal to be *a war of principle*, the principle of legitimacy. At least, it must have been the desire of the British government to avail itself of all the assistance which, at that critical season, it could honorably derive, from the prepossessions of the French in favor of the Bourbons, or the attachment of Europe, generally, to hereditary monarchy. This desire was thwarted by the solemn judicial decision of the titular bishops. The vanity of legitimacy, when opposed to the sacred interests of the church, was displayed to all Roman Catholics, at home and abroad; every thing was done which the prelates could do—and more, doubtless, than they would have chosen, had the sternness of duty allowed them a choice—to cripple the moral resources of England, and to recruit and consolidate the strength of her greatest enemy.

To resume the subject with which this note commences. The writer who had called forth the vindication of Dr. Troy, was a flippant emancipator, and like others of his school, under-rated the dangers of the papal system, because he disparaged the spirit and views of the prelacy. The associations which connect a bishop with princes and apostles, and prompt him to look for the homage of kings, elevate the tone, and give energy and expansion to the powers, of the mind. Their influence is increased by a discipline, calculated, perhaps, above all others that ever were devised, to accomplish mighty changes; extracting alimnt from hopes that are never to be realized by the

individual, teaching him to lose himself in his order, and diverting even the current of his natural affections upon those who have adventured in the same enterprize. All this is too refined for the apprehension of persons, whose cares and duties are limited to the concerns of the moment, who coalesce fortuitously upon a particular question, without any of the better sympathies of party, and who, though "born for the universe," as some of them certainly were, "narrow their minds" to objects of vulgar ambition. It is placed still further above their reach, by that low and *economical* character which infects the philosophy and literature, as well as the policy, of the times; and by the general spirit of the age, which concentrates its attention upon palpable and present objects, and excludes sentiment and imagination from its estimate of human nature. Thus it has happened, that many of those who have lately been engaged in negotiating with the titular hierarchy, were insensible, within themselves, to those generous workings of mind, which sustain men in the prosecution of a great public cause: they were accordingly unprepared to appreciate them in others, and much more, to counteract them by suitable provisions.

*App.*  
NOTE A.  


## NOTE B.\*

I had intended to insert here those observations on the oath of supremacy, which Carte<sup>a</sup> has collected, from the professional learning of Sir John Davis, and from his own scarcely less erudite researches. But their extreme length deterred me, or at least would have been likely to deter my readers; and their denseness seemed to preclude

\* The reference to this note has been accidentally omitted in the text, the reader will easily perceive, that it was intended to illustrate and strengthen what has been there said on the subject of the oath of supremacy.

<sup>a</sup> In his *Life of Ormond*, Introduction.

App.  
NOTE B.

abridgement. I have therefore resolved to substitute some shorter, but more cogent testimonies, from three very eminent Roman catholic divines.

Father Peter Walsh, the celebrated Irish Franciscan, says, with less prolixity, but not less strength, than is usual with him; "By the oath of supremacy, no other authority or power is attributed to the king, save only civil, or that of the sword; nor is any spiritual or ecclesiastical power denied therein to the pope, save only that which the general council of Ephesus, under Theodosius the younger, in the case of the Cyprian bishops; and the next general council of Chalcedon, under the good emperor Marcian, in the case of Anatolius patriarch of Constantinople, and the two hundred and seventeen bishops of Africa, (whereof St. Augustin was one,) both in their canons and letters, in the case of Apiarius;—all denied unto the Roman bishops of their time."<sup>a</sup>

Dr. O'Connor writes thus: "the act of supremacy was really nothing more, as to its intent, than the act of *Præmunire*. Its object was to restrain the exercise of illegal jurisdiction, and to confine within due limits the arbitrary proceedings of men, who, *under pretence of religion*, claimed a power of exclusively deciding on all matters, whether mixed or unmixed, relating to the church; men, who claimed exemptions from the law courts, pretending that they could be judged only by the pope; who frequently made the sacraments subservient to their passions, forbidding divine service, and interdicting the benefits of Christianity to all those who refused to comply with their arbitrary injunctions and decrees."<sup>b</sup>

And bishop Berrington. "The notions of all men were indistinct upon the subject; for so universal and undefined

<sup>a</sup> *History of Remonstrance*, Introduction, xviii.

<sup>b</sup> *Historical Address*, 2, 272.

had the power of Rome been,—call it ecclesiastical or spiritual—so much had it absorbed within its cognizance all the concerns of life; that the primitive rights of a first bishop could with difficulty be traced, and the whole fabric of his jurisdiction seemed rather to be the contrivance of human ambition, on the one side, and weak concession on the other. How then should a state proceed, now convinced that such a paramount jurisdiction was incompatible with its sovereignty, except by at once breaking down the whole mass, and committing any ambiguity of expression to the interpretation of the law, should an interpretation be afterwards deemed necessary.”<sup>a</sup>

*App.*  
NOTE B.

“Were it quite clear,” says Mr. Butler,<sup>b</sup> “that the interpretation contended for, is the true interpretation of the oath, and quite clear also, that the oath was, and is thus universally interpreted by the nation—then, there might be strong ground to contend, that it was consistent with catholic principles to take either the oath of supremacy which was prescribed by Elizabeth, or that which is used at present.”

Now it is remarkable, that as to the first and most important point—namely, *the true interpretation* of the oath—Mr. Butler himself has quoted some authorities in elucidation of it, which would probably satisfy any moderate man but the too cautious compiler.

The first is *the Admonition* of the queen herself, “forbidding her loving subjects to give ear to perverse and malicious persons,” who explained the oath as claiming a spiritual power for the crown. She then proceeds to say, according to Mr. Butler’s quotation:—“Her majesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other authority than what was challenged, and lately used, by the said

<sup>a</sup> *Memoirs of Panzani*, Introduction, 8.

<sup>b</sup> *History of Catholics*, 1, 183.



App.  
NOTE B.

noble kings of famous memory, Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, which is, and was of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of the realm—that is—under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within then her realms and dominions, so as no foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.” But the queen says *more*; and Mr. Butler, having undertaken, as he did, to *sum up* so important a case for the judgment of the public, acted rather according to his habits than his professions, when he suppressed the next sentence. It is given by the more ingenuous Berrington, as follows: “and if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the form of said oath, *shall accept the same oath, with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the said act.*”

Secondly; “in the next parliament,” says Mr. Butler, “this explanation of the oath of supremacy received the sanction of the legislature.” The words of the act are given by bishop Berrington. “Provided also, that the oath expressed in the act made in the first year of her majesty the queen, *shall be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in the admonition annexed to the queen’s majesty’s injunctions.*”

Thirdly, Mr. Butler confesses, “that the thirty-seventh article of the church of England is *in unison* with this exposition of the regal supremacy.” The words of the article are:—“The king’s majesty hath the chief power in the realm of England, and other his dominions; unto whom the chief government of all estates in this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all cases doth appertain; and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction. When we attribute to the king’s majesty the chief government—by which titles, we understand the minds of

some slanderous folks to be offended,—we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the sacraments; the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth, our queen, do most plainly testify; but *that only prerogative* which we see to have been given always, to all godly princes in holy scripture, by God himself; that is, that they should govern all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.”

App.  
NOTE B.

Fourthly, it is acknowledged by Mr. Butler, that the same description of the nature and extent of the spiritual supremacy of the crown was repeatedly given by king James.

Here we have the sovereign, who imposed the oath, solemnly explaining the sense in which *alone* she understood it, and declaring that she would accept, as good subjects, all who should take it in the sense so explained. We have the same declarations from her successor, and from the parliament, that is, in fine, from all *who had authority* to explain the sense intended: and corresponding to these, we have the declaration of the church, the party taking the oath, that the sense thus explained is the only one she acknowledges. Now if oaths are not to be interpreted in doubtful cases, either by the party which imposes, or by that which accepts them, or by both together, there is no criterion of their sense; there is no standard for the interpretation of them, more accurate or more honest, than the casuists of the papal schools.

Yet Mr. Butler is not satisfied. The causes of his scepticism are, as he says, one loose expression of Mr. Hume in his history of England, and certain arguments of Mr. Neale, in his history of the Puritans.—Weighty authorities certainly, against the solemn decisions of the crown, the legislature, and the church. As to the other

*App.* point, the sense generally given to it by the nation,  
 NOTE B. Mr. Butler is pleased to "consider it quite undeniable,"  
 that the objectionable sense is that "at this time understood, both by the general body of Catholics, and the general body of Protestants."—That those who persist in rejecting the oath, should devise some pretext for justifying their refusal, is, of course to be expected: if Mr. Butler had therefore said, that the interpretation above given was not received generally, either by Roman Catholics, or by Protestant *dissenters*, he might have asserted what was true, or at least, what was probable. As to the members of the Church of England, the bishop of Chester has sufficiently corrected Mr. Butler's assumption that the articles do not continue to speak their sentiments.

There have been, however, many eminent Roman Catholics from time to time, who accepted the authorized interpretation of the oath. We are informed by the candid Berrington, that in the reign of Charles the Second, some took the oath, and others wrote treatises to prove its lawfulness. Those writers undertook to show, "that the oath neither did nor could mean to attribute any power purely spiritual to the prince, or to take it away from the pope; but only meant external and coercive jurisdiction in external courts, in the same sense as we call Doctor's Commons the spiritual court, all which spiritual power it is manifest the king of Spain claims and exercises in Sicily." The names of Winter, Hutchinson, Cressy, Fisher, and Serjeant, all English Roman Catholics, are mentioned among the advocates of this interpretation.—A priest, named Andrew Bromwich, took the oath, and explained it thus. "I am satisfied in my conscience, that under God, belongs to his sacred majesty Charles the Second, the supreme coactive jurisdiction, sovereignty, and rule, over the persons of all his subjects within any of his dominions, of what state or condition soever they be.

I have professed, that neither the pope, nor any foreign person, hath right to exercise any external power, or coercion by civil or corporal punishment, without his majesty's authority, upon his subjects, within his dominions. I do not mean that the king can exercise any power of the keys, or any act of jurisdiction purely spiritual or internal; as to preach, minister the sacraments, consecrate to holy orders, absolve, define, or excommunicate; because all these things, being merely and purely spiritual, belong only to those whom the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the church of God."

*App.*  
NOTE B.  


It is not then, without reason, that bishop Berrington proceeds to ask his English lay-brethren; "why should we importune government for a further redress of grievances, or complain that we are aggrieved, if the remedy be in our own hands? One bold man, by taking the oath, may dissipate the whole charm of prejudice, and restore us to the most valuable privileges of British citizens." It would appear, that such bold men would not be wanting among the Roman Catholic laity, either in England or in Ireland, if the state would but avail itself of their rising spirit, and *reduce the jurisdiction of the priesthood within those modest limits which are sufficient for all other classes of Christian ministers.* At the late election for Preston, many of the Roman Catholic inhabitants took the oath, to qualify themselves for the exercise of the elective franchise; and shortly after, there appeared in the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, a Roman Catholic paper, an able article, maintaining that the oath might be taken by every member of that communion. There is, indeed, good reason to believe, that the oath would be taken by a majority of the laity, were the legislature to extend to them that protection to which they are entitled, against the tyranny of their priesthood. As the case stands at present, they cannot have the consolations of their religion,



*App.*  
NOTE B.

unless they yield to the great and growing usurpations of its ministers upon their temporal rights and comforts. The law, or at least, the local executive, allows these usurpations: thus, the industrious and unobtrusive citizens in middle life, those who have not enough of wealth or of factious consequence to secure them from the terrors of excommunication; those in fine, whom a generous government ought to protect with the greatest vigilance; are left at the mercy of an order which has renounced all natural charities. They may indeed, declare themselves Protestants; but this is an alternative, which may be rejected from various motives; from conscience, from a spurious yet not dishonorable pride, from a natural wish to decline the unenvied honors of martyrdom;—and to which, at all events, no government has a right to compel any of its subjects.

This oath would have been a proper test to separate papists from Roman Catholics, had not the duplicity of Rome, constantly growing with its necessities, devised an expedient for evading its force. While the mass of its followers was prohibited, under the severest denunciations, from giving this or any other pledge of loyalty, the general rule was dispensed with, from time to time, in favor of those persons whom the papal government was employing upon some special mission, and of whose skill and fidelity it was well assured. To countenance this perfidious policy, equivocation was wrought up into a system in the papal schools; distinctions were made between the popular and the scholastic meaning of words; it was taught that, although articles of faith were never to be denied, a greater latitude was allowable with respect to *opinions*; and that, when the good of the Church required, a man might lawfully speak and act upon the opinion of any eminent authority, although it differed from his own.

Thus trained to dissimulation, the papal emissaries

began to make smooth professions of loyalty; and to work their way into parliament, and the closet of the prince. A criterion between papists and Roman Catholics had now become, if not impossible, at least full of difficulties, which a protestant government, harassed by a century and a half of intrigue, may well be excused if it judged insurmountable. On the one hand, it was necessary to select a test from which Rome could not absolve; on the other, the system of licensed perjury, extended, or appeared to extend, to all tests, except those which the church had ratified under the sanction of an anathema:—one of these was accordingly adopted. Such is the account given by Father Walsh,<sup>a</sup> a cotemporary writer: “If any shall object,” he, says “those penal statutes, which may be thought by some to bend all their force against some doctrines and practices of our religion, as for example, against the doctrine of transubstantiation, which this present parliament at Wesminster may be thought to make their principal mark;—the answer is clear and consequential. The law-makers persuaded themselves; first, that the Roman Catholics in general had always declined to disown by any sufficient public instrument, the pope’s pretences to supreme dominion; secondly, that their missionaries labour to infuse into *as many of them as they think fit*, all their own principles of equivocation and mental reservation, and *of forswearing any doctrine, except only those articles which, by the indispensable condition of their communion, they may not dissemble upon oath*; thirdly, that the tenet of transubstantiation is one of those articles. Therefore, to discover by this—however otherwise in itself a very harmless criterion—the mischief which they conceived to go along with it, they made it the test: *which they would not have done, if*

App.  
NOTE B.

<sup>a</sup> *History of Irish Remonstrance*, Introduction, xvi.

*App. the Romanists had by any sufficient test distinguished among themselves."*

NOTE B.



This distinction is still to be made. The oaths now prescribed to the members of the Church of Rome, with whatever purity of heart and singleness of intention they may be received by *Roman Catholics*, are as freely taken by men, whose conduct in other instances convicts them of the rankest popery; and they betray, in their very construction, all that is most execrable in the casuistry of the papal schools. If then, Roman Catholics really love their religion, let them now at length, endeavour, in good earnest, to separate it from the policy of the Roman Court; if they feel their present political disabilities, let them show some symptoms of manly impatience under that yoke of priestly dominion, which makes them, indeed, "hereditary bondsmen." Until this is done, they are unreasonably sanguine if they expect that those Protestants, who are as yet unvisited with the judicial blindness of liberalism, and who form, thank God, an overwhelming majority of the Protestant name in this empire, can consider them either worthy of trust or capable of freedom.

## CHAPTER II.

*Elizabeth.*

THE short reign of Edward presents nothing worthy of particular notice.

A. D.  
1546.

That of Mary is equally void of interest, with the exception of the negociation between her and the pope. Immediately upon her accession, this princess had announced her design of restoring the ancient worship ; but a year and a half were consumed in arranging the ceremonial of reconciliation. At length, however, the humiliating preliminaries seemed to draw to a close, and the pontiff declared his willingness to receive an English embassy ;—as soon as one great difficulty, which still remained, was adjusted to his satisfaction. Mary had retained the royal style assumed by her father and brother for their Irish dominions : perhaps this was done accidentally, perhaps in the hope of surprising the Vatican into some unguarded admission of her temporal independence ; but neither cunning nor inadvertency could escape the keen eye of the holy father.

1553.



A. D.  
1553.

Before her ambassador could be presented, she was obliged to dispatch a private memorial, in which she apologised for her indiscretion, and prayed to be confirmed in the title of her predecessors: after a suitable delay her prayer was granted; and a bull, under the ring of the mystical fisherman, raised his obedient daughter to the dignity of queen of Ireland. Thus the civil governor became once more a feudatory of the holy see; “and a difficulty,” says an eminent Roman Catholic writer,<sup>a</sup> “which might otherwise have arisen, was dexterously but dishonourably eluded:”—this excellent man has left his readers to conjecture at which side the loss of honor lay.

In the act which was passed upon this occasion by the parliament of the pale, we discover an attempt, more instructive than effectual, to save the honor of *both* sovereigns. This important statute opens with an account of cardinal Pole’s mission to Mary and her consort, “as unto persons undefiled by the common infection of heresy, that he might call the people home again to the right way.” It acknowledges the condescension, with which “the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, had been excused from repairing to the presence of the said most reverend father, there to make their humble submission.” After this it recites the cardinal’s bull of absolution, which, it states, “was right reverently delivered by the lord

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Butler, *Historical Memoirs*, i. 137.

A. D.

1553.

deputy to the lord chancellor, who read it upon his knees, while the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, right reverently and humbly kneeling for declaration of their repentance, did embrace the same." In the instrument, received in this lowly attitude and submissively incorporated into the law of the land, the cardinal declares, "that the parliaments of Henry and Edward had, for themselves and the whole nation, damnably incurred those penalties, as well *temporal* as ecclesiastical, which the church has decreed against heresy and scism." "But," he proceeds, "as representing the vicar of Him whose property it is to have mercy and to spare, we absolve the island, and all its provinces, domains, cities, towns, lands, and places whatsoever, from the aforesaid heresy and scism, and from all censures and penalties, whether *temporal* or ecclesiastical, which they may have incurred in consequence. We absolve in the forum of conscience; we absolve in the forum of *external* law; we remove *every disability*, and every spot or *stain of infamy*, howsoever contracted by the transgressions aforesaid; we restore *all honors, dignities, fame, any goods, with all privileges and favors*, whether granted by the Roman pontiffs or by others, to be possessed and enjoyed as the other faithful subjects of Christ do possess and enjoy the same." This *plenary* absolution, as it is most justly styled, by the very profusion with which it lavishes its benefits, exposes the native poverty of the temporal power.

A. D.

1553.

The supposed guilt, its penalties, and the act of grace by which both are remitted, are national and federal, as well as personal, things ; and the submission of the prostrate parliament is not only a retraction of speculative error, but a return to the allegiance against which they had rebelled. That allegiance is the tenure by which they, and “ the whole body of the realm by them represented,” hold honor and dignity, property and privilege ; by which they enjoy exemption from infamy, and a title to the benefits of civil society. What then it may be asked, do the monarch and the nation possess *in their own right* ? The act answers as follows : “ We, your majesties humble and obedient subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, neither by the making or delivering of any the supplications aforesaid, nor by any clause, article, or sentence thereof, by any manner of interpretation, construction, implication, or otherwise, intended to derogate, impair, or diminish, any of the prerogatives, liberties, franchises, preeminences, or jurisdictions, of your crown imperial of the realms of England and Ireland.” Such is the device of this Roman Catholic parliament for maintaining the independence of the civil government. The prerogatives of the monarch are acknowledged in the vague obscurity of general language : *what seems the head*, is allowed the idle privilege of wearing the shadowy likeness of a crown ;

while certain specific powers, constituting a mass of authority, such as no other despotism has ever aspired to, are “right reverently” surrendered to a foreign prelate.—If those declarations of undivided allegiance, which have been recently made by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, are to be similarly understood, little has been gained for the cause of public tranquillity.<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1553.

Elizabeth had conducted herself with much quiet circumspection during the reign of her sister ; 1558.

<sup>a</sup> Much has been said of the forbearance of the Irish hierarchy in abstaining from persecution during this reign ; and if it were even probable that they had the power to injure, one would be inclined to relieve himself from the clamour, by giving the order full credit for a single instance of moderation. But it is certain, that the Irish Protestants did not owe much to the lenity of either the queen or the bishops. In the third year of her reign, the lord deputy St. Leger was removed from his office, because it was suggested by his enemies at court, that he had formerly made some verses in ridicule of transubstantiation. It was the first article of the instructions to the new lord deputy and his council, “that they should, by all good means possible, advance the honor of God and of the Catholic church ; that they should set forth the honor and dignity of the pope’s holiness and the see apostolic of Rome ; and from time to time *be ready with their aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries, to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards*, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors.” The better to carry these instructions into effect, an act was passed in the following year, reviving three statutes for the punishment of heresy ; the preamble runs as follows :—“For the eschuyng and avoiding of errors and heresies, which of late have risen, growen, and mouche increased within this realme ; for that the ordinaries have wanted authoritie to procede against those that were infected therewith ; be it therefore ordeyned and enacted by the authoritie of this present parliament, that the statute made,” &c. It appears, therefore, that the queen was too impartial a fanatic to make a distinction of places or persons ; and that the prelates looked, with the same eagerness as their brethren in England, for the aid of the secular arm : but the local executive could not second these charitable intentions, with-



A. D.  
1558.

and, although decided in her views of religion, showed the same moderation upon her coming to the throne. She invited the English bishops to assist at her coronation ; all except one refused, and she suffered their insolence to pass unpunished. In the same conciliating spirit, she caused her accession to be notified at Rome, in the form usually observed between friendly courts ; and in this instance also her condescension was rudely repulsed. The pope, Paul the Fourth, reminded her ambassador,<sup>a</sup> “ that the British dominions were fiefs of the holy see ;” he said that,

out disregarding common sense and the ordinary maxims of English policy. The great contest in Ireland was still between the races, not the churches ; the usual animosities raged between the government and the natives ; so that O’Sullivan, *over-catholic* as he is justly but somewhat ominously called by the Rockite historian, is obliged to give this character of Mary’s reign ; “ that though she endeavoured to extend the Catholic reign, yet her governors and counsellors did not cease to injure and insult the Irish.” The Protestants then in Ireland were English, many of them by birth and nearly all by descent : in allowing the bishops to burn them, the crown would deprive itself of some of its best subjects, would alarm and mortify the nobles by furnishing their old rivals with such tremendous powers, and offend the English generally, while it encouraged the Irish. Thus the flames that consumed the heretics might have kindled a civil war, in which the old enemies of English connection would have been aided by some who had hitherto been its most zealous supporters. But it would seem, that, as the queen’s bigotry grew with the decline of her health and understanding, even this danger ceased to be regarded in any other light than as enhancing the merit of her orthodox zeal. A commission was actually signed for commencing the persecution of the Protestants in Ireland ; but it miscarried on the way, and before another could be issued, the queen was summoned to her great account.—*Ware’s reign of Mary.*

<sup>a</sup> I have adopted here, with very little change, Brent’s translation of Father Paul.

“it was a great boldness in her to assume the government without his permission ; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate ; that she deserved not to be heard in any thing, yet as he was desirous to show a fatherly affection, he would do whatsoever might be done, with the honor of the apostolic see, if she renounced her pretensions and referred herself wholly to his free favor.” But the queen, says father Paul, understanding the pope’s answer, and wondering at the man’s hasty disposition, thought it not profitable either for herself or her kingdom to treat any more with him.<sup>a</sup> His successor, more subtle and less precipitate, endeavoured to repair the mischief by soothing overtures : he proposed a plan of reconciliation, founded on mutual concessions ; the queen was invited to send an ambassador and some bishops, to the approaching council of Trent ; the delicate question of her legitimacy should be settled, he said, to her satisfaction ; the reformed liturgy should be sanctioned ; the cup allowed to the laity, and the priesthood permitted to marry. All this, and more, the complying pontiff was willing to grant, if Elizabeth would return to the unity of the church : power and revenue were his objects ; and, could these be attained, theological

A. D.

1558.

<sup>a</sup> “If,” says a truly respectable Roman Catholic bishop, “in high and indignant resentment, she then made her choice, and if that choice proved subversive of a religion, the professors of which could suffer their first pastor to think or speak thus, I may be sorry, but I cannot be surprized.” Berrington, *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, Introduction.

A. D.  
1558.

ifferences would have created little difficulty. But the queen understood him as well as his predecessor; "she resolved," says a papal bishop<sup>a</sup> with unintentional felicity, "to shake off the yoke of the Roman see," and proceeded to arrange the establishment of a national church.

For eleven years, her measures were unmolested by the papal government, and received without opposition by the great body of the Roman Catholics. The laity every where frequented the churches; multitudes of the priests adopted the prescribed changes, and continued to officiate in their former cures;<sup>b</sup> and the majority of the prelates, leading, or following, the popular opinion, retained their sees, and exercised their functions according to the reformed ritual.<sup>c</sup> At length the patience of Rome was exhausted, and that spiritual

<sup>a</sup> *Romanæ Ecclesiæ jugum excutere*, is the apposite phrase of Doctor Burke in his *Hibernia Dominicana*.

<sup>b</sup> It appears from the report of the lord deputy Sydney to the queen, (in Leland, ii.) that in the diocese of Meath, "the best peopled and best governed country of the realm," upon one hundred and five impropriate benefices, there were only eighteen curates who could speak English, all the rest were *Irish priests*. The number of conforming priests in the other districts may, perhaps, be inferred from this instance. Mr. Butler, following Dodd's *Church History*, says of the English priests, "that many of them conformed for a while, in hopes the queen would relent and things come round again."—(Memoirs, ii. 280.) He may be right in complimenting their orthodoxy at the expense of their truth; yet it is a curious circumstance, that their hypocrisy, while it deceived a vigilant and justly suspicious Protestant government, should be disclosed by the tardy candour of their own historians.

<sup>c</sup> Cox, 314, Ware's *Irish Bishops*, 27, 58, 128.

sword<sup>a</sup> unsheathed against these countries, which, as it would appear, is never to be returned into the scabbard. Elizabeth was excommunicated, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance, by four successive popes : her life was assailed by numerous conspiracies ; her kingdoms given up to the vengeance of Spain, at that time the greatest power of the continent, and to the more mischievous intrigues of the new order of Jesuits.<sup>b</sup> Consecrated plumes and banners, men, money, arms and ammunition, were poured into Ireland : special indulgences, and pledges of absolution to the third generation, were granted to all who should rise in rebellion ; and, to mark it more decisively as a religious war, similar graces were conferred on the pious for praying, according to a form which is enjoined in Ireland to this day, “ for the extirpation of heresy, the union of Catholic princes, and the exaltation of holy church.”

A. D.  
1568.

By this time the nobles, both within and without the pale, were generally discontented. The former, though few in number and of no great consideration for wealth or connections, had risen into

<sup>a</sup> See the Digest of Evidence, v. ii. chaps. 3 & 4.

<sup>b</sup> The Jesuits were brought into Ireland by Robert Wauchop, a Scotchman. Besides this eminent service, three things conspired to give celebrity to Robert Wauchop : he was blind from his birth ; he rode post better than any man of his time ; he was one of three cotemporary archbishops of Armagh. The pope nominated Wauchop ; the dean and chapter, Dowdall ; and the crown, Goodacre.



A. D.  
1568.

importance, in proportion as their compeers in the more distant parts seceded from the government and adopted the aboriginal manners. They were thus left without competitors, as leaders of the colonial parliament and assessors at the council board ; they generally held some of the offices of state, and on a few occasions, the vice-regal sword itself had been committed into the hands of one of their body. These distinctions brought with them substantial benefits of power and patronage, to which, after some time, the possessors began to look as a portion, and no trifling one, of their inheritance : thus the pale had become a sort of corporation, and its principal families had acquired that corrupt and illiberal spirit which too often belongs to a small privileged community. They were, in fine, the lay leaders of the ascendancy party, the genuine archetypes of that repulsive character, which has been drawn for the *Protestant* Orangemen of later times ; selfish, arrogant, rapacious men, holding the crown in the trammels of a venal and factious loyalty, while they breathed a malignant rancour against the whole Irish name, and against those of the English race who had made Ireland their country. It was one of these, the lord Gormanstown, who, when O'Neil and other chieftains had aided the English of the pale to gain the great victory of Knocknow over the *degenerate* <sup>a</sup> English of Connaught, in

<sup>a</sup> The only epithet which the fastidiousness of this puny aristo-

A. D.  
1568.

the first insolence of success turned round to Kildare on the field of battle and said, "we have slaughtered the enemy, but to complete our triumph, we must cut the throats of the Irish of our own party."<sup>a</sup> Upon the general submission of the aristocracy to Henry, the jealousy of these personages became alarmed; they saw something in that event which threatened to lower the price of a good subject, and break down their snug enclosure of the pale. The soreness of their mortification may be conjectured from the following letter: it was written in the subsequent reign, when the parliament of the colony was about to be enlarged into a parliament of the nation; but as the language is that of cherished and habitual feeling, the anachronism is of no importance.

"Most renowned and dread sovereigne,

"The respective care of your highness's honor, with the obligation that our bounden duty requireth from us, doth not permitt that we, your nobility of this part of your realme of Ireland, commonly termed the English pale, should suppress and be silent in ought which in the least measure might

cracy would allow the English who conformed to the national manners.

<sup>a</sup> So the biographer of Captain Rock, quoting from Leland. He follows up the anecdote with this very natural question—"Who can wonder that the Rock family were very active in those times?"—the times immediately antecedent to the Reformation.

A. D.  
1568

ymport the honour of your majesty's most royal person, the reputation of your happy government, or the good and quiet of your estates and countreys. And therefore we are humbly bold to address these our submissive lynes to your highness, and *so much the rather, that till of late years* it hath been a duty especially required the nobility of this kingdom *to advertise their princes*, your majesty's most noble progenitors, of all matters tending to their service and to the utility of the commonwealth.

“ Your majesty's pleasure for calling a parliament in this kingdom hath been lately divulged, but *the matters therein to be propounded not made known unto us* and others of the nobility ; *we being*, notwithstanding, of the grand councell of the realme, and *may well be conceived to be the councell meant* in the statute made in king Henry the Seventh's time, who should join with the governor of this kingdom in certifying thither what acts should pass here in parliament ; especially, *it being hard to exclude those that* in respect of their estates and residence, should, next your majesty, *most likely understand what were fittest to be* enacted and ordeined for the good of their prince and country.

“ Yet are we for our own parts well persuaded they should be such as will comport with the good and reliefe of your majesty's subjects, and give hopeful expectation of restauration of this lately torn and

A. D.  
1568.

rended estate, *if* your majesty have been rightly enformed. But the extreme and public course held hath generally bred so grievous an apprehension, as is not in our power to expresse, arising from a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations, in places that can scanty passe the rank of the poorest villages, doth tend to nought else at this time but that, by the voice of a few selected for the purpose under the name of burgesses, extreme penal laws should be ymposed on your subjects here. Your majesty's subjects, in generall, do likewise very much distaste and here exclaime against the deposing of so many magistrates in the cities and boroughs of this kingdome, for not swearing th'oath of supremacy in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes; they protesting a firm profession of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all kingly jurisdiction and authority in your highnesse.....And so, upon the knees of our loyal hearts, we do humbly pray that your highnesse will be graciously pleased not to give way to courses, in the generall opinion of your subjects here so hard and exorbitant, as to erect towns and corporations of places consisting of some few poor and beggarly cottages; but that your highnesse will give direction that there be no more erected till time, or traffick and commerce, do make places in the remote and unsettled countries here fit to be incorporated, and *that your majesty will benignly content yourself* with the service of under-



A. D. 1568. standing men to come as knights of the shires  
 out of the chief countries to the parliament.

Your majesty's  
 Most humble and dutiful subjects,

GORMANSTON.

CHR. SLANE.

KILLEEN.

ROBT. TRIMBLESTOWN.

PAT. DUNSANY.

MAT. LOWTH.<sup>a</sup>

Their monopoly being now at an end, they became malcontents, and in due course, patriots : and with their accustomed arrogance, these lordlings of a district which extended not quite thirty miles to the north and north-west of Dublin, affected to be considered as *the country party*. Their opposition was constant, harassing, but unarmed, the first unarmed opposition in our history : their cooler temperament shunning the perils of the field, and their legal subtlety eluding the scaffold, the chief danger which threatened them was that of being trampled in the rout of their Irish associates, whom they treacherously goaded on to stand the shock of the English arms. But while they thus abused the reckless valor of one faction, they were themselves ensnared by the deeper artifices of another. Led to a coalition with the ex-bishops, by similarity of circumstances and the sympathies of discontent, they sunk gradually from allies to instruments ; and their descendants

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 444 ; also, *ibid*, 297.

A. D.  
1568.

to this day continue for the most part, to endure the hereditary bondage, and swell the triumphal cavalcade, of an insolent hierarchy. <sup>a</sup>

The nobles of the remoter districts were equally dissatisfied, and turbulent in proportion to their superior power and the greater rudeness of their manners. They had begun to discover, that in acknowledging a king of Ireland, they were understood by the government as making concessions, which it was by no means their intention to grant; while galled by the taunting triumph of an adverse faction, they were quite willing that the civil authorities should have jurisdiction over churchmen: with this view they had taken the oath of supremacy under Henry, and at the beginning of the present reign repeated it with the same alacrity: <sup>b</sup> but for themselves, they were still enamoured of the barbarous power and circumstance of feudalism. Those great lords, in particular, who had accepted English titles and agreed to attend parliament, affected not to perceive how such acts of condescension implied a surrender of substan-

<sup>a</sup> There is only one noble Roman Catholic family in Ireland, which is not descended from these lords. The first Valentine Brown in our annals was an English Protestant, employed by queen Elizabeth as a commissioner of forfeited estates; and in the cutting up of the great Desmond property, a portion fell to the lot of the carver. "This Brown," says Cox, "wrote a notable tract for the reformation of Ireland, wherein there is nothing blameworthy, *saving that he advises the extirpation of the Irish Papists*; and therefore did not foresee that *his own heir would degenerate into an Irish Papist*, and ungratefully oppose that English interest upon which his estate is founded, p. 302.

<sup>b</sup> *Lel.* ii. 381.

A. D.  
1568.



tial authority, or a consent to admit the interference of the crown in the internal regulation of their princely domains.<sup>a</sup> But no simplicity or self-importance could blind them any longer to the designs of government ; and they saw with much vexation, that they were expected to lay aside their old usages, to submit to equal laws, and associate with their former vassals on the footing of fellow subjects.

Measures to this effect had been making silent progress during the latter years of Henry, and somewhat more openly in the two succeeding reigns ; but the high spirit of Elizabeth dictated an uncompromising and adventurous policy. Resolved to monopolize the glory of the settlement of a barbarous country, and as yet a stranger to those parsimonious suggestions which too much influenced her later policy towards Ireland, the new queen urged forward, together, the two measures of ecclesiastical and civil reform ; and thus doubled and consolidated opposition. From time to time, Elizabeth sent instructions to her Irish government to proceed with vigour in breaking the power of the nobles : deep and general discontent among them was the natural consequence ; and from discontent it was in those days an easy transition to insurrection. Having determined to rebel, they wisely made religion their ostensible grievance : the pretext was plausible, it would

<sup>a</sup> *Lel.* ii. 185.

A. D.  
1568.

strengthen their confederacy, engage the simple and superstitious in their cause, and help to conceal from all, the true sources of Irish calamity; accordingly they became the champions of religion. Formerly, “when they had once resolved to obey the king, they made no scruple to renounce the pope; <sup>a</sup> knowing that thereby they would lower the tone of a domineering priesthood: now, on the other hand, they had resolved to oppose the crown, and therefore, affected a zeal for the papacy.

“The common opinion received,” says Sir George Carew, <sup>b</sup> “and by the rebels published to be the principal motive of their late and former rebellions, since her majesty’s reign, is supposed to be religion. But therein let no man be deceived, for ambition only is the true and undoubted cause that moves the rebels and others of this realm to take arms; though the English race and the Irish have different ends. The English, to recover again the supreme government in bearing her majesty’s sword by one of themselves, as for many years and ages they have done; and generally striving to have the captainries of their countries, like the Palatines, in their own hands, not admitting of sheriffs or other officers of justice to overlook them or restrain their barbarous extortions. Thus far only the ambition of the English

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Davis.

<sup>b</sup> *Letter to Secretary Cecil, Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, i. 6.



A. D.  
1568.



reacheth ; for to be subjects to any other prince than her majesty or her successors, no man can think them so sottish as to desire it ; and to be in any other quality than the state of a subject they cannot be so foolish as to propound any hope. But the Irish rebels aim at a higher mark ; still retaining in memory that their ancestors have been monarchs and provincial kings of this land ; and therefore to recover their former greatness they kick at the government and enter into rebellion, losing no times of advantage, nor refusing the least foreign aid that, by troubling the state, may advance their desires, hoping in time by strong hand to regain the crown of Ireland to themselves. These several ambitious swellings in the hearts of the English and Irish rebels are the true grounds of their continual rebellions ; and to draw multitudes of the meaner sort of this kingdom unto them, they mask their ambition with religion, making the same their stalking horse to allure the vulgar to crown their fortunes."

The object of the hierarchy was similar to that which Carew has here ascribed to the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. Convinced, like their predecessors, that the dependence of Ireland upon *some* foreign country would forward their ambitious projects, because the absence of the sovereign would naturally encrease their own importance at home, they had now acquired an attachment to England from the events of four hundred years and the associations of their order ; and they were not as yet led,

by repeated disappointments and the progress of intrigue, to think seriously of a connection with France or Spain. They were therefore willing that the titular sovereignty of the country should still be vested in the English crown, provided that the substantial powers of government were committed to their own order, to be administered according to their canons or their caprice, and without responsibility to any higher tribunal.<sup>a</sup> But though their purpose was the same which had inspired the cabals of Lawrence and his contemporaries, they saw the necessity of devising some pretexts, more suited to the fallen fortunes of their body. Hitherto, prosperity had in a great measure saved them from dissimulation, and their struggle had been openly for civil ascendancy; but they had recently learned, from the universal defection, both of the nobles and of the multitude, that in such a contest the popular feeling would be in favor of the state. "The Irish," says a virulent partizan of Rome,<sup>b</sup> "had been *strangely imposed upon* in Henry the Eighth's time, and made to believe that the chief quarrel this king had with

A. D.  
1568.

<sup>a</sup> See the extract from Dr. Routh's *Analecta Sacra* in chap. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Author of *Ireland's Case briefly stated*, printed in the year 1720. His concession of the fact, that the Irish *did* then believe the quarrel to be about civil affairs, is strengthened by his endeavours to explain it away. "They were confirmed," he says, "in this opinion, because the king himself, and his English parliament too, who had declared for him against the pope, were at the same time *all professed Roman Catholics*; for which reason the Irish parliament made no scruple to pass several extravagant acts against the papal jurisdiction, the same in effect that had passed before

A.D.  
1568.

the pope was purely about civil affairs, or matters of temporal government." To efface, or at least to weaken, an impression so ruinous to their designs, the hierarchy resolved to separate, for the present, the spiritual and temporal claims of the papal see ; and, while they upheld the former as the cardinal doctrine of Christianity, to withdraw the other from vulgar notice, and reserve it for those chosen followers who were qualified by zeal and prudence to employ the secret to advantage.

The contest, of which Ireland now became the theatre, is one of painful but instructive interest. On the one side was the sovereign, endeavouring to achieve the emancipation of a noble but as yet unprepared people, from their old vassalage of mind and body ; on the other, a coalition of three despotic factions,<sup>a</sup> which had always opposed, and still hated each other, but which found, for the present, a common principle of union in their equal antipathy to all good government, and a common instrument in the honest credulity of the multitude. But the prelates were the strongest party ; and they resolved to show their new associates that the church, although it accepted sup-

in the parliament of England. Yet having had time to consider of what they had done, and *finding that all the Catholics of Europe exclaimed against their proceedings*, they no sooner met again in parliament in the third of Philip and Mary, than they repealed and abolished all the said statutes." The Irish did not discover their error until they were enlightened by the emissaries from Italy, France, and Spain.

<sup>a</sup> The bishops, the native chieftains, and the Anglo-Irish aristocracy.

A. D.  
1568.

port, could not tolerate competition. The first rebellion was led by John O'Neil, a man of the most besotted habits, but possessing address, subtlety, enterprize and perseverance, to a degree scarcely ever found in one of that character. This chieftain had already baffled the English governor both in arms and diplomacy; he had over-reached the law officers of the crown; and, paying a visit to London, he not only removed the suspicions of the queen, but insinuated himself very effectually into her good opinion. Upon his return he prosecuted his intrigues with renewed vigor and astonishing success. By force or treaty he made himself master of nearly all Ulster; the lords of Munster and Connaught promised him their support; the common people throughout the island were charmed by his representations of the ancient grandeur and independence of their country; and his agents were received at the papal and imperial courts, as the ambassadors of a sovereign prince negotiating for assistance against the common enemy. But O'Neil failed in one quality essential to the leader of a religious war—submissiveness to the priesthood; his negligence in this particular had early drawn on him the displeasure of some of the prelates, and by one act of indiscreet zeal he consummated their anger and his own destruction. In an incursion into the English quarters, he seized the cathedral of Armagh; and as it had been recently profaned by the celebration of divine service according to the Protestant ritual,



A. D.  
1568.

he resolved to show his detestation of heresy by setting fire to the building. The titular primate, Richard Creagh, who probably thought that a less destructive element would have been a sufficient purifier of an edifice which he wished to retain for his own use, fiercely resented this awkward burst of orthodoxy, and resolved to maintain, at all hazards, the thorny prerogatives of his order. This ecclesiastic was, according to his biographer and ardent panegyrist, "an uncompromising assertor of ecclesiastical liberty ; he had grieved at the many injuries which, in their persons, property, and privileges, his clergy received from O'Neil ; and now the insolence of the dynast had proceeded to such a length, that the father found it necessary to exert his pastoral authority, and pronounce the sentence of *excommunication*."<sup>a</sup> O'Neil's dream of conquest was now over ; the promised succours never arrived to his aid ; his confederates abandoned him ; his own followers, one by one, dropt away from his accursed banner ; those in whom he had reposed his chief confidence went over to the English ; and he was hunted about from place to place, deserted by all except his mistress and a troop of about fifty clansmen. In the first agony of destitution the

<sup>a</sup> Routh, as quoted below. The extent of the unfortunate dynast's offences may be estimated by this last and fatal one—It may be observed for the satisfaction of certain persons, that it was not *loyalty* which roused this touchy prelate against the rebel general : his intrigues with Rome and Spain at length brought him to the Tower of London, where he died.

A. D.  
1570.

unhappy chief debated whether he should not steal into the English quarters, and, with a halter about his neck, throw himself upon the mercy of the lord deputy ; but he was dissuaded by his secretary, and given up to the dirks of some Scottish freebooters, who dispatched him in a brawling carousal to which he had been treacherously invited. Thus ended John O'Neil and the first religious rebellion in Ireland.<sup>a</sup>

It was during the pause occasioned by this catastrophe, that pope Gregory the Thirteenth published his edict, explaining the more warlike manifesto of his predecessor. The bull of Pius had been mandatory : not only were the people freed from their allegiance, but “ all and every, nobles, subjects, and others, were enjoined that they be not so bold as to obey the heretical queen, or her proclamations, commandments, or laws ; and whosoever did otherwise was bound with the sentence of anathema.”<sup>b</sup> But the new pope had the coolness to perceive, that so peremptory an order would only endanger his authority. He declared that this language should be so understood, “ as that the same should *always bind* the queen and *the heretics*, but that it should by no means bind the Catholics, as matters then stood or were ; only thereafter it should bind them, *when the pub-*

<sup>a</sup> Routh's *Analecta Sacra*, ii. 35 ; Ware, *Reign of Elizabeth* ; Leland, ii. 237.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, i. 122.

A. D.  
1570.

*lic execution of that bull may be had or made.”<sup>a</sup>*

In the mean time, to accelerate the arrival of so desirable a period, the Jesuits from the continental seminaries were dispersed every where through the country, rekindling the embers of disaffection, and practising on the generous weaknesses of the people. As the arrogance of the hierarchical priesthood now threatened to promote the English interest, no less than its venality had done before, all the arts of these subtle emissaries were necessary to restore the hopes of the Vatican, and manage the nice machinery of rebellion. In the plots and insurrections which agitated the remainder of this long reign, the Jesuits were the confidential agents of Rome; and one of them, the celebrated Saunders, was invested with the dignity of apostolic legate, an office which rose above all ordinary jurisdiction, and enabled him to repress the extravagance of the prelates.

A cautious and intelligent living writer<sup>b</sup> has given it as his opinion, that this explanatory bull of Gregory is *scarcely* less objectionable, than the ferocious edict which it professes to mitigate. It would be foreign to the purpose of these pages to compare their degrees of moral delinquency; but if we measure them by the effects which they were

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. 196.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Butler, as above. This gentleman, in his *Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, transcribes several passages from the late Dr. Milner, defending and eulogising the character of Gregory.—See pages 115, 130.

A. D.  
1570.

intended, and are still calculated, to produce, the comment is as much more important than the text, as treachery is more dangerous than open violence. If Roman Catholics would weigh the lesson which this comment inculcates, they would soon learn to respect the prejudices of their Protestant neighbours, and, of course, be animated by a new desire to remove them. They expect—justly expect—that all who undertake to judge of their language or their conduct, will make allowance for their irritated feelings ; they ought, in their turn, to examine the grounds of those suspicions, which Protestants find it is so difficult to banish, and which no honourable mind can willingly entertain. In an ingenuous Roman Catholic, who enlarged his views beyond the immediate objects of his party, this bull of Gregory might awaken reflections such as the following.—‘ It is true, that a considerable time has elapsed since any attempt was made to enforce the pretensions of the holy see to the dominion of Ireland ; it is equally true, that they have never been formally disavowed : Protestants are therefore left to conjecture whether they are indebted, for their present quiet, to the moderation or the conscious weakness of the papal government. To determine this question to the favorable side, they have the evidence of a prelate—the same prelate who, a short time before, had solemnly attested the supposed miracles of prince Hohenlohe—that these



A. D.  
1570.

pretensions are *obsolete*,<sup>a</sup> an ambiguous expression which may signify indifferently, the want of will, or merely the want of power, to revive them. But were the language of this prelate as unequivocal as his character, it would convey only the judgment of an individual; it would not bind other bishops, future or cotemporary, still less would it bind the head of the church. Such is the security which the papacy offers for its pacific intentions towards Irish Protestants: some eminent public men have, undoubtedly, appeared disposed to accept it; but were they to act upon similar assurances in the concerns of private life, none would commend their prudence, and many might doubt their generosity. On the other side there are, the annual curse of the pontiff upon all the usurpers of his royalties; *and* the oath of the bishops—the strongest pledge, perhaps, which despotism could exact or servility give—that they will maintain these royalties against all men; *and* in perfect consistency with this oath, their deliberate avowal that, “were a rebellion raging from the Giant’s Causeway to Cape Clear,” not one of them would interfere to assuage its horrors; *and* the similar declaration of the lay leaders, that they will not, indeed, attack England, until her right-hand is occupied by a continental war,—*but then*;—*and* finally, as if to combine all these into a system, the maxim of Gregory, “that a sentence once

<sup>a</sup> The well selected term by which Dr. Doyle designated them in his evidence.

passed will always bind the heretics, whenever the Catholics may be able to carry it into execution." A. D.  
1570.  
 This, if not a system, is at least a very startling coincidence : should it induce a Protestant to hesitate, before he accepts a peaceable demeanor as conclusive evidence of cordial good will, his doubts may be unfounded in the actual state of affairs, but they ought not at once to be condemned as illiberal.

It would indeed, be illiberal to extend these doubts to the whole, or to the majority, of the upper and middle classes of the laity in communion with the church of Rome. They are Roman Catholics, *not Papists* ; they would surely not be accomplices in any policy so detestable ;—but were the policy now at work, they might be made its instruments, and if occasion should so require, its victims. Such, from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, was the fate of many generations of their ancestors : it is therefore their interest, no less than that of Protestants, to pursue the meditations which the bull of Gregory suggests.

We are informed by the authority above quoted, that in the instructions issued by Gregory to the seminary priests in England, “he required their civil obedience to the queen, and their public acknowledgement of her sovereignty.” It suited the purpose of that sagacious writer to separate the cotemporary intrigues of the papacy in the two islands : and were his plan correct, his present statement might be dismissed with this brief observation ;—that, although Elizabeth was the

A. D.  
1570.  
}

ostensible object of the allegiance of these priests, Gregory was its true and ultimate destination; they were ordered by him to acknowledge her as queen, and they obeyed, not her, but him; her rights and the duties of her subjects, were meted out and regulated by his sovereign will. But as the professions of the English priests, and the more active demonstrations of their Irish brethren, were parts of the same system, and different manifestations of the same spirit, the subject demands a more extended consideration.

If we give the pontiff credit for common sense,—a very moderate allowance to one who claims infallibility—we must suppose his instructions consistent with each other: and on that supposition, their obvious meaning will be, that the queen should be acknowledged until there was a reasonable prospect of deposing her, and no longer. It was prudently resolved by the Vatican, that the strength of its partizans should not be consumed in a hopeless effort; and in the mean time the cause would gain in popular favor, and the enemy be lulled into security, by smooth assertions of inoffensiveness and warm complaints of calumny. The correctness of this interpretation is acknowledged by Mr. Butler in one passage, and is more palpably evident from some others in which he appears to suggest the contrary. He says, that “the Roman Catholics in general strongly condemned those, who advocated the *justice* of the bull of Pius the Fifth;” and in proof of this posi-

tion, gives the following paragraph—"Mr. Hart's answer particularly justifies this observation. It shows that, notwithstanding the bull of Pius the Fifth, the condemned priests acknowledged Elizabeth to be *in the actual state of things* their lawful queen, though they refused going the length of declaring, upon oath, that there was not a possible case in which a sovereign might be lawfully deposed by the Pope. 'Her majestie,' says John Hart, 'is lawful queen, and ought to be obeyed,' notwithstanding the bull supposed to be published by Pius the Fifth. But whether she ought to be obeyed and taken for lawful queen, notwithstanding *any* bull or sentence the Pope can give—"this," he says, 'he cannot answer.' Consonant with this answer of John Hart are the dying declarations of all the priests that were executed. Though they refused to disclaim the Pope's dispensing power in the extent expressed in the six questions, they explicitly acknowledged Elizabeth to be their true and lawful queen."<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1570.

This acute writer had said already, more fully and accurately, in the preceding part of the paragraph, that they acknowledged her *in the actual state of things*; he might, indeed, have used the very words of Gregory, "as things then stood or were." Now this was an acknowledgment, not of the injustice, but of the impolicy, of proceeding against her immediately. The Irish insurrection had been unexpectedly marred by the

<sup>a</sup> *History of British Catholics*, i. 234.



A. D.  
1570.

insolence of the hierarchy; the armada, upon which the Roman Government chiefly depended for the enforcement of the bull of Pius, was not yet equipped; and in the mean time, domestic treason would have been easily crushed in England. The queen was therefore reprieved, until the instruments of death should be ready for her execution; and to give additional solemnity to the sacrifice, the intended victim was decorated in the trappings of royalty. Her ministry, not satisfied with these ominous honors, demanded an unequivocal recognition of her title from the most suspected of the papal emissaries. Those who frankly denied the deposing power, were acquitted; and Mr. Butler adds, “their pardon seems to show, that a general and explicit disclaimer of that power by the English Catholics would have both lessened, and abridged, the term of their sufferings.” Such a disclaimer was looked for by the government, anxiously and repeatedly, but in vain. “Few of the priests,” says another gentleman, himself an English priest,<sup>a</sup> “answered as became Englishmen and faithful citizens: they seemed rather to consider themselves as the subjects of a foreign master, whose sovereignty was paramount and whose will was supreme.” They would give no assurance, that they regarded Elizabeth in any other light than that of a usurper; of one, whom God and his vicar had reserved for

<sup>a</sup> Berrington, *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, Introduction*, xxxiv.

some signal judgment, and who was allowed for a while to retain a lofty station, that the anger of heaven and the inexpiable guilt of heresy might be the more manifest in her fall. At first they waited for the Spanish invasion. When the armada was ready for sea, a third bull was issued, restoring that of Pius to its full force ; the formidable expedition failed, and by its failure their principles were rescued from the application of too strict a test. This great temptation being removed, it was presumed by the humanity of government, that sobriety would return and teach them a better course : a fresh experiment was accordingly made, and the result proved that disappointment is no less unfavorable than hope, to the loyalty of a papal clergy.

A. D.  
1570.

The queen issued a special, or, as it is termed—a *singular* proclamation, addressed to the English priests. She noticed in it, that there were two parties among them ; that on the one side stood the majority of the secular clergy, and on the other, the remainder of the seculars, with the whole body of the regular or seminary priesthood ; that the former of these parties was more reprehensible than the latter, in its political conduct ; or, as we might now express the difference, that one was Popish and the other Roman Catholic. She then proceeded to order that all should depart the realm, “except such, as before a member of the privy council, or a bishop, or the president of Wales, should acknowledge allegiance and duty

A. D.  
1570.

to her ;” with these latter, she declared that “ she would then take such further order as should be thought most fit and convenient.” Of the entire number then in England, which may be moderately fixed at seven hundred ecclesiastics of all classes, thirteen availed themselves of this proclamation. They presented to the privy council a paper entitled, “ A Protestation of Allegiance :” it was well received by that body, approved by the queen, discussed generally among the members of their communion, clergy and laity, but not adopted or imitated by any. While the question concerning it was still in agitation, the university of Louvain was consulted upon its merits : an opinion was returned, but so very circumspect, that of two eminent authorities who have undertaken to interpret it, one calls it *a gentle censure*, and the other, *an approbation*.<sup>a</sup> This *protestation*, with the *opinion* annexed to each article, is inserted here in full.

*Protestation*, Article 1. “ We acknowledge and confess the queen’s majesty to have as full authority, power, and sovereignty, over us and all the subjects of the realm, as any her highness’s predecessors ever had : and further, we protest that we are most willing and ready to obey her in all cases and respects, as far forth as ever Christian

<sup>a</sup> Father Redmond Caron, a learned Irish Franciscan in the reign of Charles the Second, found it convenient to call the opinion an approbation : Mr. Butler is for a censure, a *very gentle censure*.

priest within this realm, or in any other christian country, were bound by the law of God and christian religion to obey their temporal prince, as to pay tribute, and all other regal duties unto her highness, to obey her laws and magistrates in all civil causes, to pray to God for her prosperous and peaceful reign in this life, and according to his blessed will, and that she may hereafter attain everlasting bliss in the life to come.—And this our acknowledgement we think to be so grounded upon the word of God, that no authority, no cause or pretence, can or ought, upon any occasion, to be a sufficient warrant, more unto us than to any Protestant, to disobey her majesty in civil or temporal matters.”

A. D.  
1570.

*Opinion.* “ This article contains true doctrine. For where they say, ‘ this our acknowledgment we think to be grounded upon the word of God, so that *no* authority, no cause or pretence, can or ought to be a sufficient warrant to disobey,’ they are to be understood according to the preceding limitation, ‘ *as far forth as ever christian priests were bound to obey their temporal prince.* For if, *by a superior authority, and for legitimate causes, the secular prince should lose his sovereignty,* and his subjects be discharged from the duty of allegiance, they, no less than other christian priests, are free of all obedience to said prince.”

*Protestation.* Article 2. contains nothing particular, and is not especially noticed by the doctors.

*Protestation.* Article 3, “ If, upon any excom-



A. D.  
1570.

munications denounced, or to be denounced, against her majesty, upon any such conspiracies, invasions, or forcible attempts, to be made as before expressed, the pope should also excommunicate every one born within her majesty's dominions that would not forsake the foresaid defence of her majesty and her realms, and take part with such conspirators or invaders ; in these and all other such like cases, we do think ourselves and all the lay Catholics, born within her majesty's dominions, bound in conscience not to obey this or any such like censure, but will defend our prince and country ; accounting it our duty so to do ; and notwithstanding any authority or excommunication whatsoever, either denounced or to be denounced, as is before said, to yield unto her majesty all obedience in temporal causes.

*Opinion.* “ This article contains a difficulty where it says, in case of excommunication we think ourselves bound in conscience not to obey such censure.”

*Protestation.* Article 4. “ In this our recognizing and yielding *Cæsar's* due unto her, we may also by her gracious leave be permitted, for avoiding obloquies and calumnies, to make known by like public act, that by yielding her rights unto her, we depart from no bond of that christian duty which we owe unto our supreme spiritual pastor. And therefore, we acknowledge and confess the bishop of Rome to be the successor of St. Peter in that see, and to have as ample, and no more,

A. D.  
1570.

authority or jurisdiction over us and other Christians, than had that apostle by the commission and gift of Christ our Saviour, and that we will obey him so far forth as we are bound by the laws of God to do ; which we doubt not but will stand well with the performance of our duty to our temporal prince, in such sort as we have before professed. For as we are most ready to spend our blood in the defence of her majesty and our country, so we will rather lose our lives than infringe the lawful authority of Christ's Catholic church."

*Opinion.* "This article contains a difficulty where it says : 'we doubt not but that this obedience to the bishop of Rome will stand well with our duty to our temporal prince ;' but contains sound doctrine in saying, 'we will obey his holiness so far forth as we are bound by the laws of God to do ;' for these latter words of the protestation appear to have been studiously balanced, lest in giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, that which is God's should be denied to God, or prejudice done to the power of the church."

These observations premised, the faculty proceeds to a more minute examination of the case.

"In these two propositions, (the 3rd and 4th articles,) lies the whole difficulty of the protestation, both as to fact and as to opinion. They appear to suppose that the pope has not, at least, an indirect power in temporals ; and that a prince cannot be deposed, or his subjects absolved of their

A. D.  
1570.

oaths, by any power of the church. Now this is doubtless a false doctrine, yet not contrary to the faith.

“That it is not contrary to the faith, is manifest from cardinal Bellarmine, who only calls the doctrine of the deposing power, *an opinion* common to *all* divines ;’ and from cardinal Perron, who says that ‘it is not proposed by the pontiff as of divine faith, seeing he tolerates many of the French who maintain the contrary.’ Likewise, some of the principal fathers of the society of Jesus, being examined by the parliament of Paris concerning the deposing power of the pope, protested not only that they did not maintain it, but that they were ready to refute it in writing. This having led to a closer examination, they declared that their opinion was entirely contrary to that of the father-general of their order, who had supported the deposing power ; but they added, *if they were at Rome, they would do as those who are at Rome.*<sup>a</sup> What more then was the amount of the declaration of those fathers, than that the question was a problematical disputation, of which either side might be maintained according to circumstances ? In which although they departed too far from the truth, (for the doctrine is certain ; ) yet it is clearer than noon day, both from the assertions and actions of these fathers, and from the judgment of the pontiff who receives them

<sup>a</sup> This application of the proverb is not as well known as it deserves :—the *French* parliament knew, it seems, how to cross-examine Jesuits.

among the faithful, that it is not to be regarded as an article of faith. For our Saviour has taught us, that *what is of faith*, instead of being suppressed or dissembled, *should always be openly avowed, which as they have not done with respect to this tenet*, it is manifest that they do not consider it to be of faith. And surely neither reason nor equity will permit, that a protestation made in England in the hope of appeasing a prince who thirsted for catholic blood, should be judged more severely, than that of both laity and clergy under the most christian king, who has never persecuted any for the profession of the Catholic faith.

A. D.  
1570.

“Thus far of the abstract proposition, that kings cannot be deposed, or their subjects freed from their oaths, by the power of the pope. But it is not so much the general thesis as the peculiar case of these priests, which is to be considered. Their meaning therefore is, not that the decree of the pontiff was to be treated with disrespect ; but that by reason of the particular circumstances of time and place, circumstances better known to themselves than to the pontiff, they did not believe themselves so far bound by his sentence as to depart from their allegiance to their temporal prince. Thus our censure of the *fact* is still milder than that of the *doctrine*.<sup>a</sup> For it

<sup>a</sup> Among the signatures to this Louvain decision, we find the celebrated name of Cornelius Jansens ; and it appears from this distinction between *fact* and *doctrine*, that he had already communicated his principles to the university. We have here, therefore, a specimen of Jansenism, which proves that its professors,



A. D.  
1570.

may well happen that a case should occur, in which they might suppose, and not without reason, that they ought not to obey the sentence of the pope until they had fully informed his holiness of the posture of affairs. There might be *urgent reasons for suspending, for a season*, their obedience to the see apostolic ;—if for instance, they discovered, that by such a profession of civil duty the sovereign might be more easily appeased. For in order that princes may be deposed by the church, it does not suffice that there resides in the pontiff the *naked right* of deposal ; it is requisite that this right be exercised prudently and with good effect. For *if the power of the temporal prince be such that he cannot be deposed*, or at best,

however unlike the Jesuits in other respects, may be no unworthy rivals of those fathers in subtlety, equivocation, and lurking enmity to Protestants. Mr. Charles Plowden, who had been trained by the Jesuits, and whose brother was an eminent member of the order, speaks thus of British Jansenists, and especially of Mr. Butler and Dr. O'Connor, whom he represents as the leading authorities of the school. "I was impelled to the study of Jansenism by something like *invincible grace* ; from an almost innate reprobation of its principles, execration of its spirit, and abhorrence of its practices. Under these impressions, I am sensible of the *awful* and double duty I have to perform both to church *and* state. I submit to the indispensable obligation, under which God's ordinances place me to both—and have resolved to put in print, and circulate as widely as I can, the source, principles, spirit, doctrines, designs, practices, connections, means, power, influence and conduct, of a description of persons wholly unknown to the laws. For the information of the civil magistrate, *whom*, without any disrespect, *I assume to be in great ignorance upon the subject*, I state their leading doctrines, their spirit and modes of proselytizing, their persevering energies, their numbers, their influence, their trust-funds or stock-purse, their emissaries, their disciples, their teachers, *their use and abuse of tests and formu-*

not without much bloodshed and commotion of war,—difficulties which probably these priests apprehended ;—and if, on the other hand, there be a great hope of obtaining peace for the Catholic religion, what other fruit would violence have than that the faith should be exposed to still greater hazards? Thus, authors note that *neither Constantius nor Valens nor Julian were deposed, notwithstanding their ill deserts, and the numbers and zeal of the Catholics in those days*, lest a greater ruin to the Catholic cause should result from the endeavour. Hence, St. Thomas, when he had said that ‘infidels by reason of their infidelity deserve to be deprived of their power over the

A. D.  
1570.

*laries, their secret engagements and intrigues, their overt and covert connections*, their opposition to the established religion of the state, whatever it be.” And again, in an ardent apostrophe : “Irishmen, Englishmen, governors of the Church, *and rulers of the State*, ‘Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?’ Jansenism, from the beginning to this hour, has never boldly, manfully, and explicitly, avowed its tenets: *it has fed on deception, it has thriven by prevarication.*” What follows is still stronger. “I lament that I cannot strengthen my feeble efforts to extinguish *the fire concealed under the treacherous embers, ere it burst forth into a flame, that may reduce the better part of the empire to annihilation* : I publish, *to make known the danger both to church and state.*”—*Letter to Columbanus, Appendix*, 29, 33, 37. On the other side, had not the character of Jesuitism acquired a notoriety which rejects all further illustration, it would be easy to extract from Dr. O’Conor equally vehement appeals to the state, against Mr. Plowden, the college of Maynooth, and the whole body of the titular prelates in England and Ireland.—Would it be beneath the wisdom of ministers, while they made allowance for the mutual spite of these disputants, to pay some little attention to *the substance* of the charges which they have brought against each other ?

A. D.  
1570.

faithful,' adds, 'but this is sometimes done by the church, sometimes not done.' Because on some occasions it would be not only useless but mischievous to do so; for *the tares are not to be rooted up but tolerated, when there is danger lest together with them the wheat also may be destroyed.*"<sup>a</sup>

In this memorable decision, two positions are incidentally laid down, as maxims which required no formal proof, and were generally understood in schools of theology. One is, the suspensive principle of the bull of Gregory,—that the sentence of the church is always valid against heretics; but that the time and manner of its execution will be

<sup>a</sup> A few words may be necessary, to explain the Roman Catholic practice of consulting divines upon cases of conscience. Every body knows, that under the second temple, the glosses of the Pharisaic scribes and doctors superseded both the words of Moses and the natural suggestions of conscience. Many are also aware, that the few and intelligible principles of our civil and criminal jurisprudence have, by the technicisms of courts, the ingenuity of lawyers, and the rage for legislation in *useful* senators, been refracted into myriads of new shapes and directions. The school divines were the scribes and lawyers of the middle ages; and their subtlety was exercised in distorting rules, multiplying precedents, and extinguishing the lights of reason and scripture, that the path of duty might not be discovered without guidance. When a moral question occurred out of the beaten track of every day life, it was referred to a divine; it corresponded, even in name, to *the case* now submitted upon a point of our statute law; the client as unfeignedly thought it beyond the proper sphere of his judgment, and acted with the same deference, whenever he found it convenient, upon the *opinion* of his lawyer. Such, at the present day, is the state of three-fifths of the Irish people, except as far as the reflection of Protestantism has thrown a sort of moral twilight around them: even this is likely to be withdrawn by the wise liberality of modern times, and then they will be precipitated into the darkness of Spain.

regulated by views of expediency. The other, the esoteric explanation of the difference between *faith* and *opinion*: what is of faith,—of *divine* faith—must never be denied or qualified; what is merely of opinion, however certain in the judgment of the party, admits of compromise, of dispute, of positive denial, according to the exigencies of a controversy or the signs in the political horizon.

A. D.  
1570.

At this distance of time, it is very difficult to assign the reasons which withheld the English Romanists, clergy and people, from subscribing the protestation of the thirteen priests. Whether they abhorred the casuistry of Louvain; whether they held the deposing doctrine as an article of faith, and therefore not to be denied; whether they surrendered the whole case, fact as well as opinion, to the infallible care of the holy see; whether they imagined that subscription would be attended with none of those advantages, to which their learned counsel had alluded; or finally, whether they hoped that, by the expected death of the queen, and the possible accession of a prince of their own communion, their fortunes and their consciences might be secured together:—any one or more of these considerations may have influenced their conduct; nor is it easy to decide, which of all the solutions would be most agreeable to their modern advocates. But amidst much that is doubtful, there is one strong and undeniable fact, that neither on this nor on any other occasion



A. D.  
1570.



during the long reign of Elizabeth, did they make a declaration of attachment to the throne.

To us, these occurrences are matters of interest, or of unconcern, according to the degree in which they may be found connected or unconnected with the spirit and sentiments of modern Roman Catholics. For our information in this particular, we have the recorded opinions of two eminent Englishmen of that persuasion ; one of them, only a few years deceased, the other, still among the living lights of his age and party. Those Roman Catholics, who wish for discreet and modern statements of their political principles, can have no reason to be displeased, if bishop Berrington and Mr. Butler are made their representatives. The former writes thus :

“ Had the priests continued the practice of their religion in retirement, the rigor of the legislature would have soon relaxed ; no jealousy would have been excited, and no penal statutes, we may now pronounce, would have entailed misfortunes upon them and their successors. . . . But it will not be denied, that from associating too intimately with the divines of the Roman court, and adopting the maxims of its schools, our foreign houses soon imbibed an ultramontane spirit, which as it flattered, and by flattering secured the favor of Rome, so did it offend, and by offending, draw down the vengeance of the British government. The doctrine of deposing princes and disposing of their crowns, with other concomitant maxims of

a like tendency, were the pabulum on which that ultramontane spirit fed; and we may too easily discover, in reading their works, that the divines of our English seminaries had, *with a culpable inattention to circumstances*, espoused these *dangerous tenets*.”<sup>a</sup>—The tenets were dangerous—to themselves and their successors; and therefore these priests showed a culpable inattention, not to truth, or to honor, or to loyalty, but to *circumstances*.

A. D.  
1570.

Mr. Butler concludes his account of the Louvain decision in these words; “the moderation of the censure shows the progress of reason,”<sup>b</sup>—not of that phlegmatic and way-laying treachery which, as its strength declined, the papacy was now substituting for its former honest attacks, but of *reason*. In a passage formerly quoted, he asserts that the priests condemned the *injustice* of the bull of Pius; and he proves this assertion by showing that they held its *inexpediency*. Again, he says in another place; “the only treasons for which the priests suffered were those which the statutes of Elizabeth had made treasonable, denying her spiritual supremacy, not quitting, or returning to England, or exercising sacerdotal functions:” there is little fallacy in this, provided we remember that the spiritual supremacy, which these priests as-

<sup>a</sup> *Memoirs of Panzani*, Introduction, 20, 26.

<sup>b</sup> The passages referred to in this paragraph, will be found in pages 268, 244, 260, of Mr. Butler’s first volume of *History of the Catholics*.

A. D.

1570

cribed to the pope, *included* the deposing power. Still further : “surely when he peruses the treatment of the Catholics, the reader must feel some indignation. But will he not himself excite somewhat of the like indignation, if, after seeing the loyalty of the Catholics so severely tried and thus *found so eminently pure*, he returns to his former prejudices, and allows himself to entertain, even for a moment, a suspicion of their *perfect* loyalty to their sovereign.” This language will be regarded by Mr. Butler’s readers, as irony or as rant, according as they suppose that gentleman to be more distinguished for the coolness of his intellect or the singleness of his heart ; and where both qualities are so well known, it might be an invidious task to decide between them.

There is an inaccuracy in the language of the two writers now quoted, which, with persons of less probity or inferior skill, might easily have degenerated, on the one hand, into very palpable equivocation, or, on the other, into the avowal of the most repulsive dogmas. *They* could say *unjust*, when they only meant *inconvenient* ; they could consider the *diffusion of treacherous duplicity* as synonymous with *the growth of reason* ; they could pronounce that the adherence to a *principle of deadly hostility* was no more than a culpable *inattention to circumstances* ; they could call it *pure and perfect loyalty* in Roman Catholics to acknowledge a Protestant sovereign *in the actual state of things* ; they could dilute *the maintenance of a*

*right to depose, into a simple denial of spiritual supremacy:—all these strange misapplications they* A. D.  
1575.  
could fall into, perhaps, without injury to their moral perfections. But if the same confusion prevails among the violent and the vulgar, it is certain that the time has not yet arrived, when the bulls of Pius and Gregory may be safely pronounced obsolete.—It is now time to return, to the age of Elizabeth and the affairs of Ireland.

While the fathers Parsons and Campian, with their associates, were making smooth protestations and working secret treason, in England; Saunders and Allen had been dispatched into the weaker island at the head of another party of Jesuits, by the same pope, from the same seminaries, yet in open rebellion. The materials for insurrection being ready and ample, dissimulation was found to be only an incumbrance, and the cause of God and the holy see was committed to the swords of the noble house of Desmond. The head of that family, the great earl, as he is called by the Irish annalists, had promised the government upon his withdrawing from O'Neil's confederacy, that "as he had no knowledge in learning, and was ignorant what should be done for the furtherance of religion in Munster, he would aid and maintain whatever might be appointed by commissioners nominated for that purpose:<sup>a</sup> but the old quarrel with the Butlers, the sophistry of the Jesuits, and above

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 239.



A. D.  
1575.

all, the novel and galling restraints of law, soon awakened sentiments in the turbulent nobleman, which he was resolved to mistake for zeal and illumination. Released by the queen from the tower of London, and from a recognizance of twenty thousand pounds which he acknowledged that he had justly forfeited,<sup>a</sup> here-appeared in Ireland as the avowed partizan of the holy see ; and his brother James, a man of desperate character and fortunes, was declared the commander of the Catholic army. Saunders and his agents busily distributed the following proclamation ; a document which demonstrates the perfidy of pope Gregory, and the unsuspecting temper of his panegyrists.

“ Gregory the Thirteenth, pope,

“ To all prelates, princes, counts, barons, and the entire clergy, nobility, and people of the kingdom of Ireland ; health and apostolical benediction.

“ Among the other provinces of the christian world, the apostolic see has always embraced the Irish nation with singular love and charity, for the constancy of its fervent devotion and inviolable attachment to the Catholic religion and church of Rome. For this cause we are the more moved by the afflictions and calamities of the kingdom of Ireland ; and as far as in us lies, study to preserve the people in liberty and ease of body, and in

<sup>a</sup> Cox, 236.

A. D.  
1575.

safety of soul. Whereupon, as with great grief of heart we have lately learned from that noble and excellent man, James Geraldine, lord of Kiericouthi, and governor general of Desmond in the absence of the earl of Desmond, how many and great evils the worthy men of that country suffer for their love of the orthodox faith and true religion, through the persecution of Elizabeth, who, *hateful alike to God and man*, domineers proudly and impiously both in England and Ireland; and as the said James, impelled by the zeal of God's house and the desire of restoring the true religion, by his love of country, and the innate greatness of his mind, labours with the help of the Lord to shake off from your necks that intolerable yoke of slavery, and hopes to find many assistants in so pious an endeavour; we therefore exhort all and singular of you, by the bowels of the compassion of God, that *discerning the seasonableness of this opportunity*, you will, each according to his power, aid the piety and valor of this noble general, and fear not a woman, who being long since bound by the chain of an anathema, and growing more and more vile every day, *has departed from the Lord and the Lord from her*, and many disasters will deservedly come upon her. And that you may do this with the greater alacrity, we grant to all and singular of you, who, being contrite, and confessing, or having the purpose of confessing, shall follow the said general, and join themselves to his army in maintaining and defending the Catholic

A. D.  
1575.  
—

faith, or shall forward his holy purpose by counsel, arms, provisions, or any other means, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, according to the form which is accustomed to be used for those who war against the Turks for the recovery of the holy land." &c.<sup>a</sup>

Given at St. Peter's under the signet of the Fisherman, the 25th of February, 1575.

On the death of this James Geraldine, or Fitz-Maurice, as he is called in the Irish annals, the pope transferred the conduct of the holy war to his cousin, Sir John Desmond.

The following is a copy of the bull issued on the occasion. "Gregory the Thirteenth, to all and "singular archbishops, &c. Whereas, by our letters of former years, we exhorted you, that for the purpose of recovering your liberty and maintaining it against the heretics, you would join with James Geraldine of happy memory, who strove zealously to shake off from you the yoke of the English, the deserters from the holy Roman church; and whereas that you might the more vigorously second him in his efforts against your enemies and the enemies of God, we granted unto all who, confessing and being contrite, should join his army, or in any way aid him with counsel, arms, provisions or in any manner soever, the plenary remission of all their sins, and the same

<sup>a</sup> Evidence of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, *Lord's Report*, 776.

A. D.  
1580.

indulgences which are accustomed to be granted by the Roman pontiffs unto those who war against the Turks for the recovery of the holy land; and whereas we have lately learned with much affliction, that the aforesaid James has fallen bravely fighting against the enemy,<sup>a</sup> and that our beloved son John his cousin, a man of eminent piety and valour, has been moved by God to undertake the same cause, and has achieved many noble actions in defence of the Catholic faith; we, therefore, do exhort, require, and urge, all and singular of you, in the Lord, that you do unto the same John and his army, as unto James aforesaid; and trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and the authority of his holy apostles Peter and Paul, we renew to you the indulgences contained in our letters to the said James, provided you afford any of the aids therein mentioned to the said John and his army, or *after his death* (if, which God avert, he should be cut off,) *to his brother James and those who shall adhere to him,*" &c. &c.

<sup>a</sup> He fell in a scuffle with some of his own kinsmen about a couple of plough-horses, which he had seized to mount two of his kerns. Cox has preserved, in tolerable keeping, the usual laconic prelude to an Irish conflict. "Cousin," says Fitz Morris, "it is not a pair of garrons that will make a breach between you and me; I hope you will do as I do." "I have had too much of rebellion already," answers Burke, "and am now on my oath against it; so I must have my horses back again." Fitz Morris thought it dishonorable to part with what he had seized, and so to skirmish they go, which was brisk enough, and ended in the slaughter of both of them." 359.



A. D.  
1580.

“Given from St. Peter’s at Rome, under the ring of the Fisherman, the 13th day of May 1580.”<sup>a</sup>

When a minister of religion surrenders himself to any habitual vice, his professional familiarity with sacred things serves only to deaden the sensibility of conscience; and the natural emotions of awe and remorse subside into the contemptuous composure of infidelity. The attentive reader of these two bulls will perceive in them a veteran disregard of all that is holy or humane, to which, however versed in the records of untoured villainy, he will find it difficult to discover a parallel. This Gregory had a natural son, whom, in defiance of his contract with the Spanish monarch,<sup>b</sup> he was now labouring to make king of Ireland. In England, where the superior comforts of the people gave them a distaste for civil war, he enjoins specious professions of loyalty; that the sovereign might appear a capricious tyrant, and the traitors, dutiful and long-suffering subjects: in the same breath, he urges all classes of the more inflammable Irish to seize, or to make, opportunities of merciless insurrection. He entails the curse of his cause upon all the members of a noble family; he makes provision for the immolation of succes-

<sup>a</sup> This bull is given by Mac Geoghegan, *Histoire D’Irlande*, tom. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, ii. 267.—He had promised to confer all the British dominions upon the king of Spain—provided that prince could conquer them.

sive holocausts to his ambition; and unkennels, in the name of God, and with the stimulating promise of *plenary indulgence*, the passions of a brutal and infuriated rabble.

A. D.  
1580.

At the battle of Monaster Neva—Irish annalists must be permitted to call it a battle, since it engaged the whole disposable force of the government—the Jesuit Allen formally displayed the papal standard, the keys of St. Peter and the sword of St. Paul. Before the action began, he rode busily through the ranks, distributing his benedictions and assurances of victory; during the vicissitudes of a well-fought day he officiated strenuously in the three-fold capacity of priest, general, and soldier; and his body was found by the conquerors among a heap of slain.<sup>a</sup> Saunders did not finish his less honourable career, until he had effected the extinction of the Desmonds. The Sir John, mentioned in the second bull, had been at first suspected by this artful emissary of a want of cordiality in the cause of the church; and, upon his arrival in the rebel camp, was told that no confidence could be placed in him, until he had given some unequivocal pledge that he never would be reconciled to the heretical government.<sup>b</sup> The

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 274. The queen's *army* consisted of 900 foot and 150 horse;—the parsimony of government in fitting out expeditions was then, as at many a later period, the cause of much unnecessary bloodshed.

<sup>b</sup> "Johanni vero se fidem non habiturum, priusquam facinus aliquod dignum committat, quo hæreticorum iram atque indignationem provocet, sibi que illum fidum fore intelligat." O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.* p. 95, quoted by Leland, ii. 271.

A. D.  
1580.



savage swallowed the bait which a more wily fiend had thus thrown out ; and resolved to attest his fidelity, by an exploit which it should be impossible for either party to mistake or to forget. Among the civil officers of the government was Henry Davers, a gentleman of Devon, who had long resided in Ireland, and whose discreet and benevolent carriage amidst scenes of atrocious warfare had conciliated the regards of both races. The Desmond family had frequently experienced his good offices ; Sir John, in particular, had been relieved in various necessities to which his extravagance had reduced him, and repeatedly released from prison. The acknowledgments of the prodigal were warm and tender ; he commonly addressed his benefactor as his *father*, and was greeted in turn with the endearing appellation of *son*. The lord deputy, knowing this intimacy of Davers and the Desmonds, had employed him in a friendly but unsuccessful negociation with them ; and the Englishman, upon his return to Dublin, was to take up his quarters the first night in the town of Tralee. His adopted son, with a band of those followers, who were always ready to repay the coarse hospitality of a chieftain with the unlimited service of their dirks as well as their battleaxes, secretly pursued him, surrounded the house where he was lodged, and bribed the porter to leave the gate unbarred. In the dead of night the assassins entered the chamber of their victim : Davers feeling somewhat assured when he saw

A. D.

1580.

Desmond, said quietly, "what, my son, what is the meaning of this brawl?" and received for answer the sword of the miscreant in his body. The other assassins dispersed themselves through the rooms, and massacred indiscriminately; none of the attendants of Davers escaped, except one faithful lacquey, an Irishman, who had thrown himself upon his master in the hope of intercepting some of the murderous blows. Sir John was now fully qualified to lead a papal army; he flew to the rebel camp, proclaiming the achievement which had for ever sealed his attachment to orthodoxy, and was joyfully received by Saunders, who complimented him upon the *sweet sacrifice which he had offered to heaven*.<sup>a</sup> The blind caprice of fortune conferred upon this ruffian the honor of a soldier's death; his less guilty brother, and intended successor in the command of the rebels, perished by the hand of the executioner.

Of the male line of Desmond there now survived none but its head, the great earl. This weak nobleman had pursued a double and indecisive policy, which exposed him to the suspicion and hatred of every party. Sometimes fomenting the

<sup>a</sup> Leland and Cox concur in giving us this atrocious expression, upon the authority of Hooker, an Englishman, but member for the borough of Athenry, in Elizabeth's Irish parliament. O'Sullivan says generally, that Desmond was praised for his exploit, *quo facto laudatus*, &c. It is consolatory to find that, even among the professional adherents of Saunders, the spirit of sect did not universally prevail over the natural feelings of humanity: Davers received a decent burial from an Irish friar.



A. D.

1580.

aimless<sup>a</sup> turbulence of the ruder chieftains, frequently cringing to the government, and occasionally standing aloof from all in the inflated consciousness of his own power; he was invariably drawn back into the one fatal path, by the influence of a few priests who never quitted, until they betrayed, their deluded benefactor. His intrigues were numerous; his exploits in the field, few and inconsiderable: the greatest achievement of his arms was the surprize of the town of Youghal; and by this, although accomplished chiefly through the treachery of the mayor, he was so intoxicated, that he summoned the lord deputy, "to join him in the glorious cause which he and his brethren were maintaining under the auspices of the pope and the king of Spain."<sup>b</sup> But he had none of the qualities of a general, and his dependants, few of the resources of an army: his enterprises were soon reduced to nightly eruptions out of his woods and fastnesses, against some inconsiderable post or single detachment. These assaults brought on a terrible retaliation; vindictive slaughter, and the more appalling visitation of famine, incessantly consumed his miserable vassals: all the operations of agriculture having been suspended, their cattle

<sup>a</sup> The great ostensible grievance was the overthrow of the church; the next in popularity with those jolly malecontents was *a tax upon wine*, which had been lately imposed by the Irish parliament. Cox, p. 330.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, ii. 277. The titular bishops of Cashel and Emly were Desmond's agents at the papal and Spanish courts.—Ware, *Annals of Elizabeth*, p. 12.

A. D.  
1580.

were now their only support, and when these were carried away, men whose lives had been spared would follow the English foragers, begging for themselves, for their wives and children, the mercy of a speedy destruction by the sword.<sup>a</sup> By these means the quiet of desolation began to be established in the ample domains of Desmond; and the chieftain became a fugitive. As he wandered, accompanied by only three clansmen and a priest, he was espied and pursued by some of the lord Roche's retainers; all escaped but the ecclesiastic, who revealed the forlorn condition and the haunts of his patron. Thenceforward, the unfortunate nobleman had no rest. Disguised in the garb of a churl, he passed his solitary days in caverns or morasses; and at night was joined by a few devoted galloglasses, who shifted his wretched quarters according to their hopes of finding for him sustenance and concealment. One day, when the

<sup>a</sup> Spenser's account of this famine is perhaps the most appalling description, to be found in any language, of the horrors of an exterminating invasion. "Notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after; insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there withal: so that in short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast." God in his mercy grant this

A. D.  
1580.

1583.

remnant of these faithful men had ventured to seize a few cows, the owner raised the soldiers of a neighbouring fort, who pursued the depredators. Tracking the cattle into a glen, they followed its windings until, about midnight, they arrived at a spot where the defile expanded into a valley, which terminated in a wood. The officer had just ordered his men to halt and rest themselves, when a light was perceived among the trees: they advanced, discovered a cabin, and an old man of dignified aspect stretched languidly before the fire. The officer striking him rudely with his sword, the unhappy prisoner cried, "spare me, I am the earl of Desmond." His head was cut off,<sup>a</sup> and sent to the lord deputy, who transmitted it to England to be impaled on London bridge: and his princely territories, which amounted to six hundred thousand acres, and had afforded ample estates to three hundred gentlemen besides his own immediate

heart-rending picture may not again be realized.—Every artifice has long been used to familiarise our fiery peasantry to the contemplation of the most atrocious deeds; insurrection is acted over weekly, almost daily, in the imaginations of those multitudes who are swayed by the speeches of a few cool incendiaries. On the other hand, there are some in high places, aye, even emancipating senators, who resolve all the evils of Ireland into its *imperfect conquest*; and inflamed as the animosities of all parties now are, there is little doubt that, if another rebellion arise, this imperfection will be effectually remedied.

<sup>a</sup> If we are to believe O'Sullivan, the spot which received the blood of the earl continued to exhibit the stains at the time of his writing, some forty years after. We are assured by the graver testimony of Cox, that in his time, about a century and a half after the transaction, the family of the person to whom the cattle had belonged were still in disgrace among the people of Kerry.

kindred, were given up to the just vengeance of the crown and the rapacity of the undertakers.<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1583.

The ruin of this noble house, with its long series of disastrous accompaniments, was an impressive but ineffectual warning to those who were yet spared. Some Jesuit had discovered the sagacious argument, that a woman, being inadmissible to holy orders, should not be allowed to style herself head of a church; and this contemptible quib-

<sup>a</sup> Shortly after the death of the earl, his envoy, the titular bishop of Killaloe, arrived from Spain with a reinforcement of men, money, and arms.—Carte, *Life of Ormond, Introduction*, 57. Desmond left an only child, a boy; he was educated by the queen's orders in a manner suited to his birth, and after some years sent over to Munster, as a rival to the titular earl who had been set up by O'Neil. The account of his reception is thus given by Leland from Sir George Carew in his *Pacata Hibernica*. The earl came to Kilmallock of a Saturday in the evening; and by the way, and at the entrance into the town, there was a mighty concourse of people, insomuch, that all the streets, doors, and windows, yea, the very gutters, and tops of houses were filled with them; and they welcomed him with all expressions and signs of joy; every one throwing upon him wheat and salt, according to the ancient ceremony used in that province. That night, the earl was invited to sup with Sir George Thornton, and although he had a guard of soldiers, who made a lane from his lodgings to Sir George's house, yet the confluence of people was so great, that he could not, in half an hour, make his passage through the crowd. After supper, he had the same encounters in his return to his lodgings. The next day being Sunday, the earl went to church to hear divine service; and all the way his countrymen used loud and rude detortations to keep him from church; unto which he lent a deaf year; but after service and sermon were ended, the earl coming forth of the church, was railed at and spit upon by those, that before his going to church, were so desirous to see and salute him; insomuch, as after that public profession of his religion, the town was cleared of the multitude of strangers. This young earl seeing how much he was deceived in his hopes embarked for England, and so to court.



A. D.  
1583.

ble proved a sufficient pretext for new commotions.<sup>a</sup> Several men of family, vain, boisterous, and ambitious spirits, who had been trained to turbulent misrule, and who considered the monotony of good order as a reproach at once to their rank and their manhood, yielded to the solicitations of the papal emissaries; and the abused and miserable multitude knew nothing more of duty than to obey the priest, or of honor, than to shout in the train of some selfish and factious leader. These insurgents formed no less than four different parties: one, affecting to support the pope's son, as king of Ireland by the grant of his father; another, maintaining a similar claim for the Spanish monarch; a third, not averse to English connection, provided they were allowed to dictate the terms; and a fourth, seeking after complete independence; all of them having for their ultimate aim the restoration of their barbarous feudal tyranny, yet professing a zeal for religion, and over-ruled by the superior subtlety of the priesthood.<sup>b</sup> One vic-

<sup>a</sup> The Vicomte de Chateaubriand, in his "Monarchy according to the Charter," calls the king of France "The Head or Visible Prelate of the Gallican Church, and the Chief of all that constitutes a nation, its *religion*, morals, politics," &c. It will be remembered that this eloquent writer is a professed Constitutionalist, accused by his opponents of *lowering* the legitimate claims of royalty. He was obliged to devote a chapter of his book to prove *that he was not a democrat*.—See the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1816.

<sup>b</sup> It is remarkable that when any of these insurgent chiefs submitted to the government, they made no objection to the oath of supremacy: their idea of popery included temporal dominion, so that their recusancy and their rebellion lived and died together.—See Leland, ii. 234.

A. D.  
1583.

tory gained by Hugh O'Neil increased and consolidated the strength of these factions, so that when Essex landed to assume the lieutenancy, he found insurrection more extensive and better organised than ever.

Hugh O'Neil had all the ambition and duplicity of his uncle John, with greater caution, more specious manners, and a more cultivated mind; advantages for which he was indebted to his English education. Slighted at home on account of his illegitimate descent, he resolved that his first step to the greatness at which he aimed, should be the favor of the government: he entered early into its service, made many friends among the officers, and during the Desmond insurrection was distinguished for his military talents, and his zeal in the royal cause. The hasty gratitude of the Irish parliament rewarded his exertions with the forfeited title of Tyrone; and the queen, to whom he paid assiduous court, and upon whom his insinuating address and plausible representations of Irish affairs had made a great impression, added the whole of the splendid inheritance, which had belonged to that earldom but was then vested in the crown. He returned in triumph to Ireland; magnified the graces he had received, courted popularity, distributed favors, and gradually attracted to himself all those various regards, which may be imagined to attend a man who was at once the prime favourite of the English queen and the first of Irish chieftains. Government soon found it necessary to solicit his

A. D.  
1583.

assistance against the disaffected of his province : he was ready, he answered, with his best services ; he would raise and maintain, if permitted, a force of six companies, which should be always prepared against the enemies of his mistress. The offer was accepted, the companies formed, the men quietly dismissed according as they became expert in the use of arms, and fresh recruits continually supplied, until by degrees the whole of his followers were trained in the discipline of an English army. In the mean time he had conveyed to Dunganon a vast quantity of lead, to cover, as he pretended, the battlements of a mansion house, which he was going to build after the English fashion ; the lead, however, had a different destination.<sup>a</sup>

The suspicions of the state were now awakened ; and the aspiring earl began to be sensible that he had almost attained the utmost height, to which a subject could be permitted to climb. On the other side the accomplices, or instruments, of his designs, tired of inaction and unable to comprehend his refined policy, were inclined to ascribe his reserve to want of courage or of cordiality. O'Donel in particular sent him an angry message, announcing that he was resolved to prosecute the war, without—and if necessary, against—the wavering chief of Tyrone ; and that he had dispatched a bishop<sup>b</sup> to solicit assistance from the Spanish monarch. O'Neil made this fiery tributary his son-in-

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 308.

<sup>b</sup> The diplomacy of rebellion was generally conducted by the bishops.

A. D.

1583.

}

law ; he sent a younger brother, with some troops, to aid the insurgents, among whom the titular primate Magauran had already fallen bravely by the side of the chieftain Mac Guire ;<sup>a</sup> and contrary to his former stipulations with government, he availed himself openly of the good offices of the priesthood. While he was thus keeping his compatriots in good humour, he forwarded to the queen, upon whose favour he seems to have presumed extravagantly, the strongest protestations of his unshaken loyalty. For this purpose, he employed an English officer, named Lee, who had been his comrade when he served in the royal army, and was still flattered by such marks of his confidence as the wily chieftain judged it prudent to show. Under the instruction of the earl, this officer drew up “A brief declaration of Ireland ; opening many corruptions in the same, the discontents of the Irish and the causes of the troubles ; and showing the means how to establish quietness in that kingdom, honourably, and to her majesty’s profit.” The matter of the memorial is sufficiently miscellaneous ; its object, single—to represent O’Neil as the person best qualified to direct the administration of Irish affairs. The topics are selected with some skill ; O’Neil is a man from whom every thing may be feared, or every thing expected, according as the queen shall be pleased to treat him. “Neither the Desmond wars, nor those of O’Conor and O’Moore, are comparable

1594.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. 329.



A. D.  
1594.

to that which is now apprehended, *if* it prove a war. All Ulster is the earl's already ; O'Donel and O'Doherty, who were always faithful in John O'Neil's wars, are now linked to him, so that no place of succour is left to your majesty's force in all the north : in Connaught there are divers who watch an opportunity ; and in Leinster, many who now stir not, but will then arise in arms. If he were so bad as his enemies would fain enforce, those who know him and the strength of his country, will witness thus much with me, that he might very easily cut off many of your majesty's forces, which are laid in garrison, in small troops, bordering upon his country ; yea, and over-run all your English pale, to the utter ruin thereof ; yea, and camp as long as should please him even under the walls of Dublin, for any strength your majesty hath in that kingdom to remove him."——"These things being considered, the foundation of hope must be laid upon the earl of Tyrone, to draw him *by any reasonable conditions* unto your majesty ; and *as* he is made a great man there, so he may be also a special good member of the commonwealth to redress and remedy many great disorders, which, no doubt, he would faithfully do if he were trusted."<sup>a</sup> Some of

<sup>a</sup> He was a wise man who said, "there is nothing new under the sun." This instrument of treason has anticipated, by almost two centuries and a half, the very best arguments of certain highly privileged orators. "You have given so much already," he says, "that it is neither worth your while, nor in your power, to withhold the remainder." The *folly* of the past is urged as a *reason* for the *insanity* of the present and future.

A. D.

1594.

these reasonable conditions are amusing enough. One is that the earl should have the power of executing by martial law in his own territory ; “ and I dare say he may every year hang five hundred false knaves, and yet reserve a great stock to himself ; he cannot hang amiss there, so he hang somebody.” This is followed up by another of the same tendency, that certain persons, nominated in the memorial, be employed in places of trust, civil and military, in the remoter districts of the island. “ I know,” says the writer, “ there will be great exceptions against them, because they are thought to be *too near friends to the earl* ; but I will prove that none can ever do your majesty such good service there, as they who are best acquainted with the earl and the other lords of those countries. And what is it to your majesty to lay upon the earl the trust and credit of settling your majesty’s forces in those parts ? And if it shall at any time happen that he should so offend as to deserve punishment, *then* your majesty is to prepare your princely forces, and *make royal war* upon him, letting him sharply taste what it is to offend so gracious and great a prince.” Interspersed with these threatening demands, are many vehement, and some abject, protestations of fidelity. Lee proposes that the quarrel between the earl and his chief accuser shall be decided by combat ; “ and because it is no conquest for him to overthrow a man ever held in the world to be of the most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary *to come armed*

A. D.  
1594.

*against him naked*, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge." "Being often his bed-fellow," continues this warm advocate, "he hath divers times bemoaned himself unto me with tears in his eyes, saying, that if he knew any way in the world to behave himself otherwise than he hath done, to procure your majesty's good opinion of him, he would not spare to offer himself to serve your highness in any part of the world, though he were sure to lose his life. And as he hath in private thus bemoaned himself unto me, so there are many eye-witnesses here in your highnesses court, who have seen him do the same no less openly; which tears have neither proceeded from dissimulation nor from a childish disposition, but of mere zeal unto your highness." <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It will probably appear to some of my readers, that too much notice has been taken of this contemptible piece: such of them, however, as remember to have seen Mr. O'Driscoll's pretty volumes of "Views of Ireland," may observe that I have had a motive, though I am by no means sure that it will be considered a sufficient one. That gentleman is pleased to think Lee's memorial an important state paper, *illustrative of the tyranny of the English government*; and, as he writes for statesmen, he has taken the trouble of copying it, without the omission of a syllable, into six and thirty closely printed pages. The research of the learned writer is almost as rare as his sagacity. Passing by the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, which is, or may be, in every body's hands, he quotes directly from the original in the manuscript library of Dublin college, a room closed against all, but such eminent persons as Mr. O'Driscoll: and, with the same disdain of vulgar sources of information, he turns aside from Leland, who would have told him that this captain Henry Lee was the creature of a perfidious rebel.—The playful biographer of Captain Rock, who, as he can extract pleasantry from a massacre, may be excused the little frolic of exposing a friend, has happily caricatured his graver fellow-labourer, by quoting the same authority.

A. D.  
1594.

Elizabeth, although habitually indulgent to Tyrone, and by this time, weary of Irish broils, did not accede to these modest overtures; and the earl perceived that henceforward, force should combine with subtlety to clear his passage to a throne. Disappointed in his hopes of quietly hanging his enemies, and filling the government and the army with his friends; and now at length assured of immediate succour from Spain, he renounced his English title and connections, assumed the appellation of O'Neil, and became the defender of his church and country. Hitherto he had been a *liberal* Roman Catholic; and had even given a hint that his entire conformity to the established church might be expected in time. "Your majesty has heard," says Lee, "that he and his lady are papists and foster seminarists. True it is, he is affected that way, but less hurtfully and dangerously than some of the greatest in the English pale: for when he is with the state, he will accompany the lord-deputy to the church and home again, and *will stay to hear service and sermon*; they, as soon as they have brought the lord-deputy to the church door, depart as if they were wild cats; but he, in my conscience, with good conference, *would be reformed*; for he hath only one little cub of an English priest, by whom he is seduced for want of his friends access unto him, who might otherwise uphold him." But recent circumstances had confirmed his wavering faith, and the prelates were ready to embrace the illustrious penitent. At the battle of



A. D.  
1594.



Blackwater, where he confronted his brother-in-law and deadly enemy, Sir Henry Bagnal, the spirit of his soldiers was raised to a phrenzy of fanaticism by the exhortations of their priests, who assured them, upon the faith of ancient prophecies, that the events of that great day would be fatal to heresy. The adverse forces were almost perfectly equal : on the royal side stood four thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, many of them veterans who had served under Norris both in France and Ireland ; four thousand five hundred foot and *six* hundred horse formed the array of the rebel, or the Catholic, army. Of the latter there fell two hundred, with six hundred wounded ; a trifling loss which was amply avenged by the slaughter on the field, of the general, thirteen gallant officers, and fifteen hundred men of their opponents. The vanquished abandoned their fort of Blackwater, fled to Armagh, and thence farther southward ; and their ammunition and provisions, thirty-four ensigns and other honors of war, all their artillery and a quantity of smaller arms, remained to support the credit of papal vaticination.<sup>a</sup>

A victory so complete changed the character of Elizabeth's councils. The contemptuous disgust, with which the disturbances in Ireland had been lately regarded, was now banished by the fear of losing the country ; and a force was equipped,

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 349.

A. D.  
1596.

such as had never been seen by the Irish, and had very seldom left the shores of England. But the spirit of the insurgents kept pace with these preparations : O'Neil was extolled as the deliverer of his country ; and the disaffected leaders in all quarters of the island condemned their own inactivity, which had deprived them of similar glory. Fifty-two heads of clans, English as well as Irish, with twenty-seven captains, equal to the former in courage and nobility, though not the chiefs of their respective houses, are enumerated by O'Sullivan, as crowding into the field with rival zeal, "in maintenance of liberty and the Catholic faith." Driving the loyalists into the towns, they kept possession of the open country ; their followers in the different provinces outnumbered the troops of the viceroy, were of abler bodies, more patient of the fatigues and privations of war, abundantly supplied with arms from Spain, and trained in the use of them by long exercise, and the combined advantages of Spanish and English discipline. The first place, in authority as in fame, was unanimously assigned to O'Neil ; the voice of the sovereign pontiff ratified and consecrated the judgment of his votaries ; and the general fulfilled the expectations of all. Aware that Essex, though inferior in gross numbers, had a greater disposable force than the jealous pride of his own associates would allow him to concentrate, he declined the hazard of general engagements : he adopted that species of warfare, which the character of his

A. D.  
1596.

troops and the natural strength of the country combined to recommend; directing a system of small offensive operations, which, as if by a signal, blazed out at once or died away, over the whole surface of the island. Confounded at a service so full of peril and so barren of renown, the confidence of the viceroy first grew impatient, and from impatience collapsed into disheartened mortification: O'Neil seized the opportunity; proposed, and was admitted to, a private conference. The night before the intended meeting, *Lee*, the trusty emissary of the rebel chief, was busily employed in passing between the camps, and holding secret interviews with the generals.<sup>a</sup> The parley of the following day lasted a considerable time: the Englishman was stately, vain, and ingenuous; his adversary, or as he now became, his adviser, supple, persuasive, and impenetrable. While Essex drew up proudly on the bank of the river which divided the armies, O'Neil was seen plunging up to his saddle in the water, as if impatient to throw himself at the feet of so great a man. Shortly after, the unfortunate viceroy divulged the subject to which the dexterity of O'Neil had diverted their conversation: "Tyrone," he said, "had told him, that if he followed *his* direction, he might easily be the greatest lord in England;" "troubles were about to arise in England which would render his return thither indispensable."

<sup>a</sup> I must refer to a preceding note in palliation of this diffusiveness.

He had intended to bring with him the best troops on the Irish service, and make his way at their head to the presence of his mistress; but the discovery of his frantic scheme precipitated his journey, which terminated on the scaffold. He left the royalists so dejected, that at the expiration of a truce of six weeks which he had made with O'Neil, they expostulated with the rebel general upon his abrupt resumption of hostilities.

A. D.  
1598.

It is probable that the connection of these islands would have been now dissolved, had not the rebel lords of English descent begun to be alarmed at the extent of their own success. Whether Ireland was to become an independent kingdom under O'Neil, or—as was more likely, and more agreeable to the views of Rome and the prelates—be annexed to the Spanish monarchy, the revolution threatened to bring with it the extirpation of the English colonists. The apprehension of such a result had moved the wary lords of the pale, though in opposition to the government, to abstain from rebellion: conscience had made cowards of them; they dreaded lest the heartless policy which they had formerly pursued towards the Irish might suggest the terrible lesson, “that their triumph was incomplete until they had cut the throats of their allies;”<sup>a</sup> and were therefore content to seek the accomplishment of their ends by a system of bloodless hostilities. Their bolder and more thoughtless brethren began now to discover the prudence

<sup>a</sup> Lord Gormanstown's advice to Kildare upon a former occasion.



A. D.  
1598.



of this course. They saw that the great national quarrel had been compromised, not forgotten; and that, although while the struggle lasted, their Milesian associates might find them useful—yet when the separation was once made, prosperity would awaken all dormant claims, and fear revive, and strengthen animosities. The wisdom of government, in offering easy terms of reconciliation, encouraged and extended these reflections; and by degrees they were diffused among the priests of English race, in whom alarm for their own safety, and the natural yearnings for kindred and the mother-country at length overcame professional feelings. The dispute among the clergy arose almost to a schism, and the more daring of the loyal party announced a doctrine, unknown until then in the ecclesiastical world, that Catholics might lawfully bear arms against their brethren in defence of a heretical sovereign. “Oh ignorant, foolish, and abandoned men,” exclaims the indignant O’Sullivan, “ye Anglo-Irish priests of the English faction, how will you ever expiate this atrocious guilt? Can you be of a spirit purely and entirely Catholic? Let the wise reader judge. As for myself, I cannot hold for sound or Catholic doctrine, a notion so fatal to the salvation of souls and the propagation of the faith, as that Catholics may fight against Catholics in the cause of heresy.”<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Cath. 233. See O’Conor, *Columbanus*, iv. 114. On this occasion it appears to have been, for the first time since the Reformation, that the Irish *priesthood* separated into the two sects or schools, the Popish and the Roman Catholic.

A. D.  
1598.

O'Neil himself, or *the prince*, as he was now called, condescended to discuss this case of conscience in an English proclamation : he argued it, as became the general of a crusade, according both to martial and ecclesiastical law.

“ Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your professions Catholicks, and that naturally I am inclined to affect you, I have for these and other considerations abstained my forces from attempting to do you hindrance ; and the rather for that I did expect in processe of time you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences in maintaining, relieving, and helping the enemies of God and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresie.

“ But now seeing you are so obstinate in that in which you have hitherto continued, of necessitie I must use severity against you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved, in reclayming you by compulsion, when my long tollerance and happy victories by God's particular favour doubtlessly obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences.

“ Considering notwithstanding the great calamitie and miserie whereunto you are most likely to fall, by persevering in that damnable state, in which hitherto ye have lived, having thereof commiseration, hereby I thought good and convenient to

A. D.  
1598.

forewarn you, requesting everie of you to come and join with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same ye do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but according to the utmost of my power shall work what I can to dispossess you of all your lands; because you are the means whereby warres are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholick faith. Contrarywise, whosoever you shall be, that shall joine with me; upon my conscience, and as to the contrary I shall answer before God, I will imploy myself to the utmost of my power, in their defence and for the extirpation of heresie, the planting of the Catholick religion, the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies, by which this kingdom was hitherto governed, nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility, and consequently of infinite evils, which are too lamentable to be rehearsed.

“And seeing these are motives most laudable before any man of consideration, and before the Almighty most meritorious, which is chiefly to be respected, I thought myself in conscience bound, seeing God hath given me some power, to use all means for the reduction of this our poor afflicted country unto the Catholick faith, which can never be brought to any good pass, without either your destruction or helping hands.

“Which notwithstanding, some Catholicks doe think themselves bound to obey the queen as their

A. D.  
1598.

lawful prince : which is denied ; in respect that she was deprived of all such kingdoms, dominions, and possessions, which otherwise perhaps should have been due unto her, and consequently of all subjection, insomuch as she is left a private person, and no man bound to give her obedience ; and beyond all this such as were sworn to be faithful unto her, were by his holiness absolved from performance thereof, seing she is, by a declaration of excommunication, pronounced a heretic ; neither is there any revocation of the excommunication, as some Catholicks do most falsely, for particular affection, surmise : for *the sentence was in the beginning given for heresie, and for continued heresie the same was continued.* It is a thing void of all reason, that his holiness should revoke the sentence, she persevering in heresie, yea, in mischiefing and persecuting the Catholicks.

“ But it may be, there was a mitigation made in favour of Catholicks, by which they might be licensed in civil matters precisely to give her, during their inability, obedience ;—but not in any matter tending to the promotion of heresie. Wherefore, I earnestly beseech you all, Catholicks, and good loving countrymen, as you tender the exaltation of the Catholick faith, and the utter extirpation of heresie, in this our poor distressed country, to consider the lamentable and most distressed state thereof. And now let us join altogether, to deliver this poor kingdom from that infection of heresie, with which it is, and shall be, if God do not



A. D.  
1599.



especially favour us, most miserably infected : taking example by that most Christian and Catholick country of France ; whose subjects, for defence of the Catholick faith, yea, against their most natural king maintained warres so long, as by their means he was constrained to profess the Catholick religion, duely submitting himself to the apostolick see of Rome ; to which doubtless we may bring our country, you putting your helping hands to the same.

“ So I rest, praying the Almighty to move your flinted hearts, to prefer the commodity and profit of our country before your own private ease.

“ Duneveag, the fifteenth day of November, 1599.

“ O’NEALE.”

For some time before the appearance of this proclamation, an opinion had been gaining ground that O’Neil was aiming at the sovereignty of Ireland. Among other acts of indiscretion, he had conferred the title of earl of Desmond upon a distant relative of the late unfortunate nobleman, and had undertaken to recover for him the splendid patrimony of his predecessors ; in return, he exacted homage, and a promise of tribute from the titular grandee. This conduct had given very general offence ; and the Irish of all parties, with that keen sense of the ridiculous which is still an element of the national character, annexed an epithet of contempt to the honorary title of the new Desmond, calling him on all occasions the earl of *Straw*. In the manifesto, although framed with considerable art, some expressions escaped

A. D.  
1599.

the ambitious general, which confirmed these rising jealousies, and hastened the dissolution of the triple<sup>a</sup> confederacy. While he disclaims, with suspicious vehemence, all present views of personal aggrandizement, he is inconsistent enough to acknowledge that such had been his original motive for taking arms against England. He dwells, with a complacency which has as much of pomp as piety, on the power which God had given him ; affects an air of patronage, “of more than ordinary favour,” towards *all* his countrymen ; speaks of the possibility of his being king of Ireland, and avows designs of national improvement, which could be effected by nothing short of sovereign authority. Had he reached the eminence to which he so obviously aspired, his great talents render it probable that he would have made no inglorious effort to fulfil his promise of banishing “the obscurity and ignorance, the barbarity and incivility,” in which it was unquestionable that, from whatsoever causes, the kingdom had been hitherto buried. But the scheme was not acceptable to any class of his associates. The Anglo-Irish chiefs dreaded the consequences of separation ; the Milesians were too proud to submit to a man whose equal they called themselves, while they envied his superiority ; and both, still clinging to their barbarous power, recoiled from his projects of reformation. The policy of Rome and the hierarchy pre-

<sup>a</sup> That is, between the hierarchy, the Milesian chiefs, and Anglo-Irish lords.

A. D.  
1599.

sented obstacles equally insuperable: the former had already given away Ireland to Spain; the latter could not prosecute their own designs without some foreign connection, they knew and feared the enlightened mind of O'Neil, and could not forgive his recent leaning to heresy.

The new pope, Clement the Eighth, while he complimented and encouraged the *prince's* exertions in the Catholic cause, took an indirect, but intelligible mode of repressing his expectations. He sent him a plume, hallowed by his own apostolical benediction, and—as the pontiff gravely declared, and his word was not questioned by the discreet aspirant—formed of the feathers of a genuine phœnix, the apt symbol of a reviving church and state: but the present was conveyed by a *Spanish* ecclesiastic, upon whom, as a pledge of the destiny which awaited the regenerated country, his holiness had conferred the archbishopric of Dublin.<sup>a</sup> O'Neil replied to the ominous enigma in an artful and submissive letter, well calculated, as he hoped, to elicit a response less unfavorable to his designs. Adopting that style of blasphemous adulation which the papal oracle requires of its clients, he “prostrated himself before *the Father of spirits on earth*, praying his compassion upon his spiritual sons, who were engaged in a conflict with the enemies of their Sion, the opposers of their building up of the walls of their Jerusalem.” He solicits the holy father to appoint, in future,

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 368.

A. D.  
1600.

pastors of *his* nomination to the afflicted church ; and in order that the faithful Irish *subjects of his holiness* may act with the greater success in the defence of *his kingdom*, he beseeches him to renew the excommunication against Elizabeth. The pontiff sent the following answer :

“ To our beloved son, the illustrious prince Hugh O’Neil, captain general of the Catholic army in Ireland.

“ Health and apostolical benediction :

“ We have been informed by your letter, and by the report of our dear son Peter Lombard, principal of Cambray, that the holy alliance, which you and many other princes and nobles of Ireland have formed, is by the mercy of God maintained and strengthened ; and that by the aid of the same Lord of Hosts you have often combatted successfully against the English, the apostates from the church and faith. We have derived great joy from these tidings, and have given thanks to God, the father of mercies, who has still left in Ireland many thousands of men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. For these have not gone after impious heresies or profane novelties, but have fought manfully in detestation of them, *for the inheritance of their fathers*, for the preservation of the faith, for the maintenance of unity with the one Catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation. We commend, dear son, your pious magnanimity, and also that of the princes and all others,



A. D.  
1600.

who, in league with you, decline no dangers for the glory of God, and prove themselves worthy successors of their ancestors, men renowned for martial exploits and for zeal in the Catholic cause. Preserve, children, this excellent spirit; preserve your mutual concord; and the God of peace will be with you, and will prostrate your enemies before your face.

“As for us, we love and cherish in the bowels of Jesus Christ, your highness and all the other *imitators* of the faith and *valour of their forefathers*; we do not cease to pray God for your safety and happiness and when opportunity offers, we shall write to our children the Catholic kings and princes, that they give you and your cause all possible assistance. It is also our intention, to send to you speedily some special and trusty nuntio, a man of piety and prudence, inflamed with zeal towards God and devotion to your interests, who may aid you in maintaining unity, in propagating the faith, and forwarding all other measures for the advancement of God’s honor and worship. In the mean time we send you these presents, as pledges of our love to you and your country, and for your consolation as our beloved children in Christ. We have heard with pleasure, and shall continue to hear, Peter Lombard, whom you have sent to us as your ambassador. And so we impart to you, and to those who join with you in the propagation of the faith, our apostolical benediction; and we pray God that he will send out his angels about your paths,

that he will guide you by his grace, and protect you by the power of his outstretched arm.

A. D.  
1601.

“ Given from St. Peter’s, &c. 20th January, 1601.”<sup>a</sup>

The letter affords another instance of that unrelenting composure, with which, in the most sacred of names, and, if habit did not neutralize the power of language, under the impression of the most awful ideas, Rome can devote its followers to destruction. Four hundred years before, it had employed the English arms in bringing Ireland under its dominion; and for three centuries and a half, supported the aggressors, at whatever sacrifice of justice or humanity. At the end of that time, England shook off from herself, the yoke which she had imposed on her weaker neighbour; and then the Irish, whose ancestors had been cursed for their insubordination, were blessed for their unconquerable love of liberty, and *the imitation of their forefathers in combatting the English*. While England was an invading power, and by the laws of nature and of nations, might be honorably resisted, the pontiff and his priests denounced resistance as impiety. Now, that its ascendancy had settled down into a regular government, that

<sup>a</sup> Mac Geoghegan, *Histoire D'Irlande*, ii. The Peter Lombard mentioned in this letter, was afterwards titular archbishop of Armagh. This man wrote a history of Ireland, (Louvain, 1632,) in which he maintained that Ireland was an ancient fief of the papacy, and that although the kings of England were for the present in possession, the island belonged to Rome by *divine right*, for which he quotes the prophet Isaiah.

A. D.  
1598.

it had been acknowledged in solemn and repeated covenants, and could not be opposed without treason, the infallible church applies her strongest provocatives to the languishing spirit of insurrection. But, after all, were the Irish to enjoy the liberty and *the inheritance of their fathers*, if their sanguinary piety had proved successful? The vicar of Christ had determined otherwise. He had seen, and seen through, the affected devotion of O'Neil and his associated chieftains : he knew that the re-establishment of the papal sovereignty was not the motive of their exertions, and most probably, would not be a consequence of their triumph. He had, therefore, made his own arrangements for that consummation. When the best blood of the sons, and the stepsons, of Ireland had been drained in mutual carnage, Spain was to seize upon the defenceless prize : new forfeitures were to make provision for a new race of armed colonists ; and the Inquisition was to exercise its holy office, in vindicating the island of saints from the imputation of heresy.

In addition to a Spanish archbishop, Ireland had now a Spanish general,<sup>a</sup> who waged independent war "in the name of Christ and the king of Spain," and maintained a stately reserve towards

<sup>a</sup> O'Connor, *Historical Address*, i. 12. Moryson says, that "no Irish of account joined the Spanish general, except some dependents of Florence Mac Carthy." The chiefs knew his designs ; and the rest, though he offered the enormous pay of six shillings a day to every trooper, could not be estranged from their natural leaders. *Ibid.* 16.

A. D.  
1598.

the native belligerents. This officer, in jealous imitation of O'Neil, issued a manifesto, containing nearly the same topics and arguments which had been urged by that chieftain. "We do not wish," he said, "to persuade any man that he should deny to his prince that obedience which is due *by the law of God*. But ye know well, that for many years since, Elizabeth was deprived of her kingdoms by the pope; unto whom he that reigneth in the heavens hath committed all power, that he should root up and destroy, plant and build, in such sort that he may punish temporal kings, if it should be good for the spiritual kingdom, even to their deposing." After lavishing the fairest promises on the Irish leaders, if they will abandon the pretended queen, he concludes by declaring, "that those who persist in supporting an excommunicated heretic, must themselves be treated as heretics, and persecuted even to death." At the same time Eugene M'Egan, the titular bishop of Ross, and vicar apostolic of Munster, supported by his episcopal brethren of Clonfert and Killaloe, and by other leading ecclesiastics, thundered out an anathema against all who should take up arms in the cause of heresy, or *give quarter* to the prisoners of the heretical army. The course he pursued towards such offenders, when any of them fell into his hands, displayed at once the vengeance and the tender mercies of the Papacy; they were first restored, by absolution, to the peace of the church, and then, instantly executed in his pre-



A. D.  
1598.

sence. At length this sturdy fanatic, while he led on his troop of a hundred horse against a party of loyalists, with his sword in one hand and his breviary and beads in the other, met his own fate as coolly as he had witnessed the death of his prisoners.<sup>a</sup>

To prolong, if possible, the mutual slaughter of *both* classes of their enemies, the Spanish faction obtained a decision from the universities of Valladolid and Salamanca, interpreting and enforcing the pope's letter to O'Neil. This document has a deeper interest than that of mere curiosity, to recommend it to the consideration of modern readers.

“The judgment of the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, concerning the present war in Ireland, and their explanation of the letter of our most holy lord pope Clement the Eighth respecting the same.

“*Case.* The illustrious prince Hugh O'Neil makes war with the queen of England, for the defence of the Catholic religion: two questions arise concerning it;—the one, whether the Irish Catholics may assist said prince by arms or other means; the other, whether they may, without mortal sin, fight *against* said prince or favour the English. The second question is of the greater moment, seeing that, if they refuse, they expose themselves to manifest danger of life or property; besides, as *the pontiff has permitted the Irish Ca-*

<sup>a</sup> Leland, ii. 484. Walsh, *History of Remonstrance*, Introduction.

*tholics to obey the said queen and acknowledge her as lawful sovereign, by paying taxes to her, it would seem that they might also perform another duty of subjects, namely, fight against her enemies.*

A. D.  
1598.

“*Answer.* In order to solve these questions, it must in the first place be laid down *as certain*, that the Roman pontiff may coerce and punish apostates from the faith, and impugnors of the Catholic religion, even by force of arms, when other means fail to correct so great an enormity. It is, besides, to be held for certain, that Elizabeth impugns the Catholic faith, and does not allow the Irish the public exercise of their religion; and that for this cause the prince aforesaid has undertaken a war against her.—These matters being premised;

“The first question is easily answered. It is beyond doubt, that the said Catholics may assist said prince, with great merit and assured hope of eternal reward. For, as said prince makes war for religion *by the authority* and exhortation of the sovereign pontiff, and as indulgences and graces are conferred for engaging in it, there can be no question that the war is just and of great merit.

“Touching the second question, it is also certain that those Catholics do sin mortally, who follow the camp of the English against said prince, and that they cannot be absolved by any priest until they repent and desert from the English army. The same judgment is to be passed on all who supply the English with arms or provisions, or

A. D.  
1598.

with any thing beyond those customary taxes which by the *indult and permission* of the sovereign pontiff, it is lawful to pay the queen of England and her officers. It is permitted to the Catholics, to pay to the heretical queen *that kind and degree of allegiance which may not injure the Catholic religion*. But it was not, neither could it be the intention of the pontiff, to allow them to perform such acts of allegiance as would be plainly inconsistent with that end and purpose, which *the pontiff himself has in view* for the advancement of the Catholic faith and religion in Ireland.”<sup>a</sup>

It appears from this remarkable document, that there may be members of the church of Rome who, however freely they seem to obey a Protestant government, are held in check by an invisible chain that binds them to the footstool of the sovereign pontiff. Under certain circumstances, and to a certain extent, their allegiance looks like that of other men, spontaneous and unreserved. But the church allows *all* to go this length; she claims the right of determining the allowable limits, according as the interests of the faith may require: within these, obedience is lawful; to go beyond them would be, in her estimation, and in the estimation of those<sup>b</sup> whose civil conduct she directs, *a mortal sin*. Thus, after the promulgation of the bull of Gregory, all the Irish were

<sup>a</sup> O'Sullivan, *Historia Catholica*. Mac Geoghegan, *Historia D'Irlande*, 3.

<sup>b</sup> That is, of Papists, *not* Roman Catholics.

A. D.  
1598.

allowed to perform those civil duties, which had no immediate influence upon the issue of the contest; and had not the contest been *religious*, that is, one in which *the temporal triumph* of religion was involved, the Papist, as well as the Roman Catholic, might have fought in the queen's armies. Since the Revolution, England has not been engaged in any war, which the Vatican could pronounce to be against religion; on the contrary, during the last and most tremendous of her conflicts, the pontiffs had very conclusive reasons for opposing no obstacle to her prodigal exertions. Hitherto, therefore, *parallel* cases of conscience have been excluded by circumstances;—how much longer they may be so, it is impossible to tell;—but *similar* cases have occurred very recently, and have been *similarly* decided. For thirty years after the extension of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, the hierarchy did not interfere, at least openly and officially, with the votes of the freeholders. But by that time it began to appear, that the disposal of these votes might have an important influence upon the fortunes of the church. It was ascertained, that in several counties they could decide a contest in favour of emancipation: in these counties the contests were declared to be religious; the freeholders were commanded, under pain of mortal sin, to vote *for their religion*; and at the hazard of starvation, to themselves and their families, the majority of them obeyed. Would they have acted differently, had



A. D.

1601.



their leaders judged it prudent to summon them to the field, instead of the hustings? the danger—were they of a temperament to weigh danger very cautiously—could scarcely be supposed greater, while all which their ardent minds could desire or imagine, might have been reckoned among the fruits of victory. But the time has not yet arrived, for an experimental answer to this question; meanwhile, it would be difficult to assign one instance in the conduct of the Popish party, for which the bulls of Pius and Gregory, with the comments of Louvain and the Spanish universities, do not afford an ample and admonitory solution.

Before the Spanish decision arrived in Ireland, the rebellion was already over. O'Neil, who had never acted vigorously with, or *under*, his continental allies, and who on one occasion<sup>a</sup> had been roundly charged with treachery by their discomfited general, had at length made his peace by an insincere submission. The greater part of his associates had preceded him in this course, and the others hastened to follow his example. Thirty years of atrocious hostilities, in which the custom-

<sup>a</sup> The extraordinary defeat before Kinsale, which was followed by the surrender of the town and the Spanish troops. O'Neil's veterans dispersed, almost without striking a blow, upon the appearance of a few troopers of the English army: Don Juan ascribed their sudden route to treachery; the ecclesiastics to the judgment of God, because the Irish soldiers had plundered some monasteries. Sir George Carew and Morysson have given several curious particulars of the continual feuds between the Irish and Spaniards. O'Neil's ambition, and Emmet's enthusiasm, made them equally averse to the overwhelming assistance of a foreign power.

A. D.  
1601.

any horrors of rebellion were aggravated by the continual ravages of famine and disease, were sufficient to abate the ardor of the most warlike. The scrupulous provided for their spiritual and temporal safety by purchasing an absolution from the guilt of yielding to the heretical arms: the more subtle perceived that the papal casuistry could be turned against itself, and that as they might lawfully perform all the *peaceful* duties of subjects, the anathema against military service would be disarmed of its thunder, if all joined in capitulating with the government. Those who had any thing to lose, preferred English law to the unknown perils of a Spanish conquest; and all knew the hollowness of those pretences, under which so many calamities had been brought upon their country. Henceforward to the great rebellion, the disaffected of all classes adopted the patient tactics of the lords of the pale; waiting until the distresses of England might afford them an easy triumph, and in the mean time, employing every safe device for inflaming religious bigotry and exciting a spirit of factious opposition. The impatience of an enfeebled government to restore tranquillity upon any terms, gave them unexpected facilities in the prosecution of this artifice. Contrary to the former practice, the rebel lords were admitted to pardon without taking the oath of supremacy; and thus that unequal division of allegiance, which “gives the soul to the pope while it affects to leave

A. D.  
1601.

the body to the king,"<sup>a</sup> received indirectly the sanction of the civil power.

Thus terminated abruptly, and in a great degree through the mutual jealousies of the leaders, the last of three rebellions, which had foiled the ablest generals, and consumed myriads of the bravest troops, of England. We shall form a very inadequate estimate of the power of the papal system, unless we consider the obstacles which the hierarchy surmounted during this period, as well as the positive effects they produced. Their first labour was a conflict with themselves. Stunned in the beginning by the unanimity with which the chieftains had thrown off their yoke and acknowledged the more moderate pretensions of the crown, they had sunk for some years into obscurity and inaction. But in the fretfulness and solitude of disappointment, the ancient spirit of their order was exasperated, not subdued; and when the first rebellion replaced them in a public character, a rash anathema dissipated their own hopes and those of their adherents. It is to the credit of their discernment, that after this imprudent exercise of authority, they submitted to learn a less repulsive bearing, under the discipline of Jesuits and the control of legates and vicars apostolic. Their probation being over, they had next to bend the nobles to their purposes; for as yet, they had

<sup>a</sup> The quaint, but not altogether unfounded language of James the First. *Altogether* unfounded it cannot be called, until some proof is given that allegiance to the pope and allegiance to the king run in strictly parallel lines.

A. D.  
1601.

little, *comparatively* little, influence with the mass of the inhabitants, except in subordination to a jealous and despotic chieftainry. Seventy years after, when old connections and old manners had almost passed away, it was observed by a viceroy<sup>a</sup> who had studied Ireland carefully, “that no people in the world were more disposed than the Irish, to follow the religion of their lords :” in the reign of Elizabeth, the power of the lord and the attachment of the vassal, were still unimpaired. Negotiation with the grandees was therefore indispensable ; but the attempt was beset with most discouraging difficulties. The prelates knew that the old discord, between their order and the nobles, would still burn beneath the ashes which mutual convenience might strew over it ; and that, were the common enemy removed, the moment of triumph would most probably change their allies into antagonists. No feelings of bigotry or enthusiasm had arisen to allay this inveterate feud : the older chiefs had all taken the oath of supremacy ; their example had been followed by most of the younger ; and both paid to the English worship the respect of their occasional, if not habitual, conformity. Of the three principal commanders in these rebellions, the first, though without sufficient refinement to be a speculative unbeliever, was, in his life, even below the decent hypocrisies of infidelity ; the second had avowed his contented igno-

<sup>a</sup> Lord Stafford ; see Carte, *Life of Ormond*, i. 79.



A. D.  
1601.

rance of religious matters ; and the third was a very punctilious conformist, whenever the warfare of conciliation appeared better calculated than open hostility, to advance his deep designs. From these prominent instances, some conjecture may be formed of the general standard of religious zeal among the rebel leaders. We should not be warranted by the voluminous records of the times in complimenting any of them with the title of fanatic ;<sup>a</sup> John of Desmond himself was a reckless profligate, who, while he received the congratulations of Saunders upon “ the sweet sacrifice he had offered to heaven,” probably scoffed at the familiar that was leading him on to destruction.

The clansmen, while they devoutly adopted the quarrel of their lords, partook in a great degree, of their freedom from religious scruples. When Desmond took possession of Youghal, he indulged his followers in sacrilegious excesses, which, according to a Roman Catholic writer, brought down the signal vengeance of God upon the Earl and his family. “ Even the churches,” he says, “ and whatsoever was sacred, were polluted and defiled by the soldiers, who brought every thing to desolation, making havoc of sacred vestments, and chalices as well as of other chattel. Certain Spaniards, who were with them at that wicked exploit, perceiving by the furniture and ornaments of the

<sup>a</sup> Except, perhaps, lord Baltinglass ; who appears to have been smitten with the argument, that a female, being incapable of holy orders, could not be head of the church.

churches that the townsmen were all Catholics, and containing their hands from plunder, were reproved by some of that wicked company, for that they took no part of the spoil." The same author accounts similarly for the disasters of Hugh O'Neil, whose soldiers, on their march from the north, "robbed and spoiled the monasteries of Timnalague and Kilcrea, and profaned other churches."<sup>a</sup> Whether they still cherished some traditional remembrance of a simpler worship than the Roman, or whether they had been hardened by those habits of rapine which were far from disreputable among the Irish tribes, it is now impossible to decide. But whatever may have been the cause, so far were the rebels of those days from that reverential obedience which Rome requires in her votaries, that their allies could not refrain from expressions of abhorrence. "The contempt and scorn," said lord Mountjoy, "in which the Spaniards held the Irish, and the distaste which the Irish had of them, were not to be believed by any but those who were present to see their behaviours and hear their speeches;" and on one occasion, a Spanish officer avowed his conviction "that Christ did not die for the Irish."<sup>b</sup>

Upon the whole, there is no period in our Irish annals, at which bigotry had less influence upon the Roman Catholic body, than the reign of

A. D.  
1601.

<sup>a</sup> *Theatre of Catholic and Protestant religion.*

<sup>b</sup> Morysson, 187. *Pacata Hibernia*, 176. See Appendix.

A. D.  
1601.

Elizabeth. Noblemen of that persuasion attended the viceroy to Christ church; those of inferior rank frequented the parish churches;<sup>a</sup> Roman Catholic officers, civil, military, and municipal, took the oath of supremacy; Roman Catholic soldiers, regardless of the spiritual thunder that was every moment bursting over their heads, fought gallantly against men of their own communion, in defence of a woman whom the vicar of Christ had devoted to perdition. All this was in a tone—it matters not whether of liberality or of irreligion—to which the church of Rome has nothing similar at the present day. Yet trifling as was then the comparative strength of popery, its absolute power must be measured on a scale sufficiently formidable; for a moral force, like a force in chemistry or mechanics, is known by the resistance it overcomes, and the inert mass which it sets in motion. These rebellions were religious wars;<sup>b</sup>—the name alone might suffice to show the influence of religion. There was enough of the spirit of sect, to make a religious cry the most effectual appeal to popular

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>b</sup> The rebellion of 1798 was, in like manner, a *religious war*, though all the leaders in council and in the field, were Protestants or infidels. The fanaticism of the populace is an instrument ready for the head of any dextrous malcontent; and whatever may be the causes in which Irish turbulence originates, it ultimately assumes a religious character. This will always be the case as long as the multitude continues in ignorance, and the priests retain their power: yet it seems that no system of national education will be adopted, which has not the sanction of the titular hierarchy.

A. D.  
1601.

sympathy; to induce many of the queen's soldiers to desert her heretical standard;<sup>a</sup> to prompt the Desmond vassals to spit upon the youthful heir of their favorite earl, because he had been bred a Protestant. Hypocrisy, said somebody, is the homage which vice offers to virtue: the hypocrisy of the rebel leaders was the homage which sedition offered to the favorite prejudice of the time. The prelates knew that the offering was indispensable: this was their only advantage; and by a dextrous use of it, they prevailed over the hereditary hatred, the personal aversion, the unbelief, the oaths, and the jealous power, of their compatriots. Condescending at first to the humbler offices of treason, they affected to aspire only to that secondary influence which the most arrogant cannot withhold from the conductors of their intrigues. But as the path of sedition became more entangled, their profession afforded facilities, which they did not fail to improve, for obtaining an ascendancy over the lay conspirators. The secrets of every house; the projects, the passions, the ruling weakness of every breast, lay open to their inspection; and the excited fanaticism of the multitude gave them, for the first time, power founded upon feeling and opinion:—thus they were enabled to overawe their haughty accomplices, and enforce their growing

<sup>a</sup> O'Sullivan says, that before the battle of Kinsale, the Roman Catholics in the queen's army had promised to desert, and that many of them kept their word, going over two, three, and even ten at a time.—*Hist. Cath.* 177.



A. D.  
1601.



demands to a share in the prosecution of the common cause.

“TIME,” said a great man, “is perpetually changing human affairs ; it is wisdom to watch his progress and adapt the institutions of the state to his changes ; and without attention to these, history is but an almanack, and experience a cheat.” It was a just and pregnant apothegm ; with not the less either of force or of beauty for that unaffectedness of expression which distinguishes the eloquence of the right honorable orator. We can discover, without recurring to the voice of revelation, that there is some mighty confluence of destinies, to which the whole human race is incessantly on its way : in the most permanent societies and most tranquil seasons a process is carried on, which tends to separate man from his institutions, as in the lapse of ages, the fixed stars themselves have deserted their primeval signs. To look, therefore, to the past alone, is the error of a schoolman, who renounces the world of living realities and sojourns in the shadowy region of his own abstractions. To watch, and to provide for, those silent influences which time is continually shedding ; to correct irregularities, some as they arise, others in their causes ; to make every new measure a liberal analogy from the past, and a safe precedent for the future ; and thus, while the parts are in unceasing flow, to secure the continued stability of the system ;—

these are the noblest cares of a statesman, the cares which approach nearest to the plastic energy of Providence, "reaching mightily from one end to the other, and sweetly ordering all things."

A. D.  
1601.

The statesmen of the present day have departed, in many respects, from the practice of their predecessors. It was not the vanity of empiricism—turning aside from the admonitions of history to throw the public weal into a crucible, or to invoke some *idol within the breast*<sup>a</sup> for a response upon the fate of empires,—which dictated this conduct; it was a grave conviction that new objects and events, as they successively arose, acted upon the pre-existing mass and induced a variety of new relations. To maintain the state in a wholesome correspondence with this order of nature, was obviously the design of that alterative course which our public men have been lately pursuing. Conscious then, as they must be, that every notable occurrence, and every material change in the posture of affairs, would furnish a new element in their own calculations, they will not insist upon a tame identity of details as necessary for the proof of a uniform policy in others. In proportion as they give men credit for a spirit and integrity similar to their own, they will be prepared to find in them a system of adaptation to the mutability of earthly things, and to regard it as the best evidence of a wise consistency.

Now the church of Rome, whether it be consi-

<sup>a</sup> *Idolum Specūs*.—Bacon.

A. D.  
1601.

dered locally in these islands or diffusively throughout christendom, is pre-eminently marked by this continuity of principle. "What is a century in the history of a nation?" asked the most brilliant of our statesmen, when he would extort an argument from the supposed <sup>a</sup> recency of the penal laws: "what is a century in the history of the papacy?" is a question which might have been proposed with much more reason. Twelve centuries have passed over its head; during that astonishing period, its plans, like its ecclesiastical discipline, have been modified to suit the place or the occasion, but its purpose has retained that unshaken firmness which is ascribed to its faith. "The hands," says Dr.

<sup>a</sup> Many penal laws, and these the best aimed of the whole code, are some centuries earlier than the Reformation; they relate to the correspondence between ecclesiastics and the court of Rome. Henry the Eighth did no more than follow up the principles of his predecessors in opposing a foreign jurisdiction, and upon all speculative points was a furious Roman Catholic. Of late years, a mistaken tenderness for religious liberty has protected the prelates in all their intrigues; but as every sober man saw that restraint must be laid *somewhere*, the gentry have continued to suffer for the licentious freedom of their guides.

As it may be desirable to show that our earlier statutes *did* provide for the coercion of the clergy, the following instance is quoted from a Roman Catholic writer. "It may be objected," says Dr. O'Connor, "that Lalor, vicar-general of Dublin, was persecuted for exercising his functions in 1606. Countrymen, beware—these are loose assertions.—Inquire into facts, and you will find that Lalor was justly *prosecuted*, not *persecuted*, on the Catholic statute of Præmunire, enacted in the Catholic reign of Richard the Second, for the security of a Catholic state. He was prosecuted on that act for exercising foreign jurisdiction within the realm of Ireland, in order to convince the Irish, says Sir John Davis, that even Popish kings and parliaments deemed the pope an usurper of those exorbitant jurisdictions which he claimed, and

A. D.  
1601.

Robertson, "which held the reins of administration, might change, but the spirit which conducted them was always the same. While the measures of other governments fluctuated, and the objects at which they aimed varied, the church kept one end in view; and to this unrelaxing constancy of pursuit it was indebted for its success in the boldest attempts ever made by human ambition." Time has changed, and is changing, the form of every thing around it, new modelling constitutions, shifting the balance of power, creating or destroying states and empires;—his heavy hand falls weakly upon the papacy. This singular monarchy

thought them inconsistent with the loyalty of the subject and the independence of the state.

"He was convicted, and sentenced accordingly. But though this occurred the very next year after the discovery of the Gunpowder plot, yet such was James's moderation, that the sentence was never executed; and, to show the Irish that no persecution of their religion was meant, the king issued, in the course of that very year, a commission of several graces, one of which was to secure all Irish estates by new patents against all the claims of the crown.

"Aye—but Lalor was first prosecuted on the act of Supremacy. Granted,—and therefore he humbled himself to the Court, and made a recognition that he was not lawful vicar-general in the diocese of Dublin, Kildare and Ferns. Upon this recognition, he would have been enlarged; but finding an outcry raised against him, that he had renounced the pope's supremacy, he declared that he meant only to acknowledge the king's authority in mere temporals without any reference to the church. A religious cry was now raised against the government; Lalor was extolled as a confessor who was persecuted for religion; and therefore, to satisfy the Irish how grossly their credulity was imposed upon, the prosecution on the statute 2d of Elizabeth was quashed, and a new prosecution was instituted on the Catholic act of *Præmunire*. Never did man incur the penalty of the law more deservedly than Lalor."—*Historical Address*, ii.



A. D.

1601.

bears up mysteriously against the rush of events ; opposing innovation while opposition is prudent, and when it bends to the force of circumstances preparing to recover its lost ascendancy, with unabated alacrity and inexhaustible resources.

In the narrower sphere of this country, it is easy to trace the same unbroken spirit, with the same pliancy of external accommodation. For the last fifty years, the Roman Catholic bishops have been engaged, with little intermission, in treating with various members of the government, both in England and Ireland : in every instance they have over-reached or eluded them, and held on their sinuous course of aggrandizement without sustaining one decisive defeat. They have received with equal freedom, and treated with equal dexterity, the overtures which were made to them from time to time, by aspirants after place and declaimers upon patriotism. They have intrigued with all parties ; they have cajoled and vilified, used and amused them, as suited their purposes, yet never given their confidence to any. It was a more difficult achievement to counterplot the upper classes of their own communion ; they attempted it, and have succeeded. In 1793, availing themselves of the blind strength of the Irish legislature, they crushed the rising spirit of their gentry beneath a mass of nominally enfranchised paupers ; on several occasions since, they have rebuked that “over-weening anxiety for emancipation,” which would postpone the sacred claims of the hierarchy ;

A. D.  
1601.

and at some critical moments when a schism appeared inevitable, have restored subordination in the seditious ranks, and soothed or terrified the ringleaders into obedience. Men who can do all this should be respected as adversaries. Friends they never can be ; they have a spirit which scoffs at conciliation ; they have a separate interest, an interest in the disquiet and dishonour of England, which cannot be purchased up by any consideration within the reach of a minister. Those who would oppose them, must never forget the maxim which the most accomplished man of antiquity has not scrupled to dignify with the title of Divine Wisdom : HÆC etenim est præclara illa et divina sapientia, perspectas penitus et pertractatas res humanas habere, nil admirari cum evenerit ; nil, antequam evenerit, evenire posse non arbitrari.

It is true, indeed, that various causes conspire to prevent the repetition of those desolating scenes which afflicted Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. Among these, it is not our least assurance of quiet, that a prospect seems to open to ecclesiastical ambition, of attaining its objects by the peaceful arts of negociation. Time has changed the form of things, and the prelates of the present day have shaped their measures accordingly. No longer menaced by proclamations, or looking for protection to some malcontent lords, who insulted the *men* while they used the *instruments*, Roman Catholic bishops are now recognised by the committees of both houses, and take their right reve-

A. D.  
1601.



rend station round the person of the sovereign. Forfeitures and the reformation have cut down the ranks of their ancient rivals; and the few men of quality who remain in their communion, have just enough of consideration to give point to the sarcasm,<sup>a</sup> and brilliancy to the cavalcade, of the jubilant ecclesiastics. By the fall of the nobility the bishops are now left without any competition; absolute masters of the ignorant, the fanatical, and the disaffected, they can afford to treat the timid restiveness of the more educated with a contemptuous and taunting composure.<sup>b</sup> In the fullest sense of the term, they are a HIEROCRACY; swaying a compact mass of five millions of people, with a plenitude of dominion which might be envied at Constantinople, and breaking down all distinctions among their vassals into the same abject prostra-

<sup>a</sup> The Catholic aristocracy, *as they are called*, since the penal laws were relaxed, have gradually withdrawn themselves from the people; they have shown on some occasions an overweening anxiety for emancipation, at the expense of what the *priesthood* and the other classes deemed the interests, if not the *principles*, of their religion; hence, they are looked upon with suspicion, and can no longer wield the public mind.—*Dr. Doyle to Mr. Robertson.*

<sup>b</sup> Some time after the investigation of 1825, Mr. O'Connell was represented by all the Dublin newspapers as having declared, in a public speech, that he had been supported by Dr. Doyle in his celebrated project of the Wings. He was corrected by—Dr. Doyle's secretary; and published an apology, in which he used these among other expressions. "I have at length felt with sensitiveness all the bitterness of reproach, and in the spirit, perhaps, of humiliated pride and mortified vanity, I sit down to reply."—"If it be any pleasure to Mr. Kinsella to know that he has grieved and humbled me, I give him the advantage of knowing the fact." If an increase of political privileges would raise the Roman Catholic gentry above language such as this, or above

A. D.  
1601.

tion before their insolent supremacy. This power within their domestic sphere naturally gives them an influence beyond it; the opposite extremes of despotism and of a liberty almost anarchical, combine to swell their authority; and while they rule at home with a rod of iron, they attack England with her own free institutions. They govern the strongest political interest in the empire: they manage every where the puppets of legislation, from the hovel of the resident freeholder to the chateau of the absentee; and the local minister confesses that the tranquillity of Ireland, and his own titular dignity, are suspended upon their irresponsible good pleasure. Industrious in occupying and securing those positions which, from a thousand motives, are successively relinquished to

the dependence in which it originates, the public would have a good argument for such a measure. Unfortunately, the Protestant candidates for priestly favour are no less submissive, no less in need of *emancipation*.

Dr. Doyle found another, and an able vindicator, on the occasion above mentioned. "If Mr. O'Connell," said Mr. Cobbett, "had shown any respect for the feelings of any body, and in particular, if he had not made an attempt to blast the character of the Catholic bishops, and annihilate for ever *the just hopes* of the Catholics, this anecdote, and all the other facts that I have stated, might have remained for me in everlasting oblivion.—Catholics of Ireland, trust solely to your clergy, *they* will never deceive you. Again, I say, believe in the sincerity of no leaders whose ambition can be gratified by the government. Obey the laws, whatever they may be, rely upon your clergy *for obtaining you redress*, as far as that depends upon man, and patiently wait for circumstances and events."—Quære, What were those *just hopes* which Mr. O'Connell attempted to annihilate? Surely not the hopes of *political* redress. It will be observed, that the bishops and priests are now the leading petitioners for emancipation.



A. D.  
1601.



them, they establish every day, a precedent for some new pretension. In the mean time, they make partial exhibitions of their spiritual strength: the “artillery of popular excitation” is occasionally brought out for sportive but imposing exercise; and the crozier of a skilful prelate, like the wand of Prospero, raises a whirlwind of contentious elements, “roarers that care not for the name of king,” yet contribute, it seems, to the honor and security of royalty. “Shepherds of people,” says Bacon, “have need to know the calendars of tempests in the state; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality, as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoxes.”

## APPENDIX.

## NOTE A.

THAT the Roman Catholics generally, both in England and in Ireland, attended the reformed worship at this time, is attested by all our most dispassionate writers.

Thus Carte :

“ In the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, the Roman Catholics universally throughout England observed the act of uniformity, and went to their parish churches, where the English liturgy was constantly used. They continued doing so for eleven years, till Pope Pius V. (who had before, in a letter to the queen, offered to allow this liturgy, *as not contrary to truth*,) issued out his famous bull, by which he excommunicated her, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. Upon this extravagant act of the papal power, some few of the leading men withdrew from the public churches ; but still the Roman Catholics in general continued to repair to them until after the twentieth year of the queen, when Campian and other Jesuits, being sent into England, laboured all they could to engage them not to resort thither for worship. Pope Gregory XIII. following his predecessor’s steps, renewed his bull, and excommunicated the queen again ; and Father Parsons published a treatise entitled, *De sacris alienis non adeundis*, endea-

*App.*  
NOTE A.  
~~~~~

vouring to prove it unlawful to go to a schismatical worship, and to join in the use of a lawful liturgy with persons that were not of the papal communion. This doctrine was not immediately received; the Jesuit's book was answered by some of the secular priests of the church of Rome; and the matter was argued *pro* and *con* in various tracts till the end of queen Elizabeth's reign. King James, incensed at pope Clement the Ninth's bull, which enjoined the Roman Catholics *to keep out the Scotch heretic, unless he would reconcile himself to Rome, and hold his crown of the papacy*; and alarmed by the discovery of the gunpowder treason—enacting severer laws against recusants, and the Jesuits by the support of the court of Rome, getting the better of the secular priests; the papists universally withdrew from the parish churches in England. The case was much the same in Ireland, where the bishops complied with the Reformation, and the Roman Catholics in general resorted to the parish churches, in which the English service was used, until the end of queen Elizabeth's reign. But swarms of Jesuits and priests, educated in the seminaries founded by king Philip II. in Spain and the Netherlands, and by the cardinal of Lorraine in Champagne, (where, pursuant to the views of the founders, they sucked in as well the principles of rebellion, as of what they call catholicity,) coming over into that kingdom, as full of secular as of religious views, they soon prevailed with an ignorant and credulous people to withdraw from the public service of the church.”—*Life of Ormond*, i. 32.

And the Roman Catholic bishop Berrington :

“ For some time the great body of the *clergy* conformed exteriorly to the law.....It was afterwards more than once publicly declared by Sir Edward Coke, when attorney-general—which the queen herself confirmed in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham—that for the first ten years of her

reign, the Catholics without doubt or scruple repaired to the parish churches. The assertion is true, if not too generally applied. "I deny not," says Father Parsons in reply to Coke, "but that many throughout the realm, though otherwise Catholics in heart, (as most of them were,) did at that time and after, as also now—*i. e.* in 1606—either upon fear or lack of better instruction, or both, repair to Protestant churches."—*Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, Introduction*, 15, 19.

App.  
NOTE A.  
~~~~~

And Leland :

"In Ireland, the remonstrants of 1644 contended that the act of uniformity was *not at all* executed in the reign of Elizabeth. Their answerers assigned a reason, *because there were no recusants*, as all of the Roman communion resorted to the established churches. But though the allegation on either side be not *strictly* true, yet the law, though not entirely dormant, was generally relaxed."

Carte and Leland concur in stating, that the legal fine of a shilling a week, (*i. e.* a shilling Irish, equal to nine pence English,) on those who absented themselves from the reformed worship, was levied in no part of Ireland but the county of Dublin. That county was selected for a more rigorous execution of the statute, "because the eyes of the whole kingdom were upon it, waiting to see what course the inhabitants would take. And yet, all that was levied in that county, did not amount to above fourteen or fifteen pounds a year." Leland, who states fully and feelingly whatever has been said on the Roman Catholic side, gives the general result in these words. "However the foreign clergy and popish emissaries might have encouraged the people to repine at the penal laws, yet it is certain, and acknowledged by writers of the Roman communion, when it serves the purposes of their argument,



*App.* that these laws were not executed with rigour in the reign  
NOTE A. of Elizabeth.”—ii. 381.

Mr. Butler, however, wishes to make a contrary impression. “What language,” he asks, “can adequately describe the barbarity of Elizabeth’s religious legislation in respect to Catholic Ireland, immediately upon her coming to the throne? Her spiritual supremacy was required to be professed by all the nation—a nation which consisted wholly of Roman Catholics—under the successive penalties of all the party’s real or personal estate, of præmunire, and the punishment of traitors by *death and embowelment alive*. Absence from the Protestant service was punishable by a forfeiture of twelve pence for each offence, equal at that time in Ireland, to ten shillings of our present money. The service was to be read in the English language, then wholly unintelligible to the Irish people, but with liberty to the clergyman, if he should think proper to read it in Latin, a language equally unintelligible to all but the clergy. Is this the legislation of a princess, whose tolerating principles and mildness, and of counsellors, whose wisdom and justice you so highly eulogise? Does history record an instance of intolerance equally savage?”—*Vindication of Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, 104.

Mr. Butler knows, that confused expressions are regarded by critics as proofs of impassioned sincerity; perhaps it was this knowledge that suggested the blundering vehemence of the accusation, that the Irish recusants were *first* to be put to death, and *then* emboweled alive. But whether this cool writer was, or was not, “affecting to be unaffected,” his opening charge would not be absurd, if he had made any attempt to prove these three particulars; that the supremacy claimed by Elizabeth *was* spiritual, in the sense to which he chuses to pervert the ambiguity of that term; that the oath of supremacy *was* proposed to all the Irish Roman Catholics; and that even one of those

who refused *was* treated in the manner he seems willing to describe. Mr. Butler has not made the attempt; and the reasons which dictated, or might have dictated, this forbearance, will be deemed unexceptionable by every sober man. For the first of the three particulars, Mr. Butler had before him the solemn and concurrent declarations of the queen herself, of the parliament, and of the church, that no other supremacy was claimed for the crown, than 'the right of ruling all estates and degrees of men within the realm, and of restraining evil doers with the civil sword:' for the second, he had the voice of history, supported by cotemporary state papers, acts of parliament, and other records, that the oath of supremacy was administered only to the *principal magistrates and officers of the executive*: and for the third, he had the same testimony, that the penalty upon refusal was generally suspension from office; that suspension was not always followed by dismissal; that sometimes the recusant was allowed to retire upon a pension; and at the worst, in a case of the most aggravated contumely, was imprisoned for a few days. Finally, Mr. Butler knew, from the acknowledgment of modern associations, if more respectable authority was not to his taste, that these recusant magistrates, whether removed or suspended, pensioned or imprisoned, were admitted into both houses of the Irish parliament. Such is the amount of the barbarity which Mr. Butler would have related, had he been the *historian* of the Roman Catholics.

But Mr. Butler does not wish that his charges should be received too seriously. Had he been asked Horace's question—

Amphora cæpit

Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?

he doubtless would have pleaded his veracity or his good-nature. The alleged cruelties of Elizabeth and her ministers,

App.  
NOTE A.

*App.* “fine by degrees and beautifully less,” dwindle delicately from embowelment alive to the infliction of—prayers in an unknown tongue ! The Irish Roman Catholics were condemned, it seems, either to make up amongst them the enormous fine of fifteen pounds a year, (in *persecuting* years,) or to hear a service which the pope had pronounced to be unobjectionable, which their happy ignorance of either Latin or English rendered almost as harmless as their old liturgy, which was to be read, if they pleased, in the former language, and for nine-tenths of it, in the very words of the missal or the vulgate:—and this is what Mr. Butler calls, “such an instance of savage intolerance as is not recorded in history.” His readers must be very morose, if they do not part in good humour from a man, who, at his venerable years, gambols thus lightly for their entertainment.

NOTE A.

## CHAPTER III.

*From the Accession of James the First, to the great Rebellion.*

CLEMENT the Eighth had declared, that “the Scotchman should never ascend the throne of England, unless he submitted to the chair of Peter, and consented to hold the three kingdoms as fiefs of the holy see.” To support this menace, the pontiff had exerted the usual arts of his court, in negotiating with the French and Spanish governments, and soliciting the Roman Catholics of the two islands.<sup>a</sup> The talents of Cardinal Allen and father Parsons had been combined to produce the *Conference about the Succession*; and the equal zeal of less eminent agents employed in giving publicity to its doctrines. But France from humanity, and Spain from vexation,<sup>b</sup> refused to countenance

A. D.  
1601.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Butler, *History of Catholics*, i. 269, et Seqq.

<sup>b</sup> The French monarch said, that “the design of his holiness would only make the Catholics more miserable than ever, by engaging them in an attempt against the laws and the lawful succes-



A. D.  
1601.

the schemes of the Vatican ; in England the Protestant interest, already predominant, was now supported by the strength of the Scottish monarchy ; and after thirty years of exterminating warfare, some little respite was necessary for Ireland. Thus Clement was compelled to abandon his project ; and on the demise of Elizabeth, the Scotchman had no competitor for the splendid inheritance. A few zealots indeed, in Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and other places,<sup>a</sup> seemed willing to hazard a fresh insurrection in support of the Infanta and the Catholic cause ; but the vigour and address of the deputy Mountjoy soon removed these trifling exceptions to the general tranquillity.

It was not, however, the quiet of mere exhaustion, in which Ireland now lay. Expectation—just and natural, if it could have been restrained within sober limits ; but dangerous, from the ardent temper of the people, and the mischievous industry with which their hopes were inflamed—had its share in producing the unwonted calm. The

sion :”—so much more tenderness had a foreign prince, than the *Holy Father*, for the welfare of the Roman Catholics. The Spaniard was irritated at the perfidy of the Vatican, which, after repeated promises, now refused to sanction his pretensions to England. Clement's plan was, to confer the three kingdoms upon the lady Arabella Stuart, and the lady upon Cardinal Farnese :—the Cardinal was, of course, to be absolved from his religious oaths.—Mr. Butler, as before.

<sup>a</sup> These riots are described by Cox with absurd exaggeration: this writer's prejudices render him almost as unsafe a guide on one side, as Curry, Plowden, and the elder O'Connor are upon the other.

A. D.  
1601.

old Irish regarded James as a kinsman ;<sup>a</sup> and were taught to expect great favors from a prince, who, after an oppressive interregnum of four hundred and fifty years, had restored the legitimate line of their Milesian sovereigns. The monarch, on his part, gladly admitted the plea of consanguinity, and displayed a kindly interest in the welfare of his Irish people. To mark his accession as the auspicious opening of a new æra, he commenced his reign with an *act of indemnity and oblivion* for all past offences ; and as a pledge of the indulgence to be shown to minor culprits, received O'Neil and his son-in-law O'Donel with distinguished attention. This sweeping amnesty was followed by a *commission of grace* for the settlement of landed property ; by which the great proprietors were secured against the claims of the crown, inferior holders were in their turn protected from the exactions of the nobles, and all estates made descendible according to the law of England. Lastly, the whole body of the common people, Milesians, and those Anglo-Irish who had fallen into the native customs, were emancipated for ever from the dominion of their lords : Ulster, with parts of Leinster and Connaught, for the first time, and Munster, after an interval of two centuries, saw judges taking their circuits of assize and dispensing the comforts of English jurisprudence. Benevolent but ineffectual measures :—It was

<sup>a</sup> Several Irish writers, O'Flaherty, Lynch, O'Halloran, &c. dwell with much complacency upon the genealogy of the house of Stuart.

A. D.  
1603.

beyond the reach of a proclamation, to abolish the memory of old grievances ; to make an Irish landlord contented with equal laws and a reasonable rent ; to appease the hungry and contentious expectancies, which, by the usages of Tanistry and Gavelkind, were collected round an Irish property ; or to qualify those, who had been brutalized by the tyranny of ages, for the immediate enjoyment of British freedom.

While James was thus endeavouring to conciliate his Irish subjects, the hierarchy had prepared another and more insidious ground, for their wild hopes and conditional loyalty. “The son of a Catholic martyr,”<sup>a</sup> as these prelates loved to stile the new monarch, inherited, it was said, the orthodox principles of his parent, and waited only for an opportunity of declaring himself. In the mean time, they resolved to act as if assured of his favour ;—his acquiescence might lead to their peaceful re-establishment ; his resistance might stimulate the prodigal valour of their votaries to another desperate struggle. The regular priests, who had been banished in the preceding reign, now returned in troops ; and disdaining to perform their rites in unmolested privacy, braved the law by their ostentatious exhibitions : they were seen in all the towns, marching in processions, clothed in the habits of their respective orders, and unfurling all the pageantry of their gaudy ceremonial. As

<sup>a</sup> He is so styled by a cotemporary titular bishop, Dr. Routh, *Analecta Sacra*.

A. D.  
1603.

revenues are never wanting to the titular hierarchy when it is thought expedient to display the magnificence of the church, means were found to restore the Roman Catholic worship in considerable splendour : crosses were erected in conspicuous places, chapels were built, monasteries repaired, and in several instances, the reformed clergy were ejected from the parish churches. The times were no longer considered to require any compromise. Those of the laity who had hitherto frequented the Protestant service, and were distinguished from the recusant party by the title of church papists,<sup>a</sup> relaxed, and ultimately discontinued, their attendance. The ecclesiastics began to revive their old claim of superiority over the civil power : they reviewed causes which had been determined in the king's courts ; and enjoined the populace, under pain of mortal sin, to renounce the laws for the sacred authority of the canons. Could they have been satisfied with an *actual* toleration, James was not indisposed to overlook these bold proceedings : but when their agents petitioned the throne for a *formal* recognition<sup>b</sup> of

<sup>a</sup> In the same spirit, the agitators of the present day call the moderate Roman Catholics *Orange Papists*.

<sup>b</sup> Such a recognition has not been yet obtained. It is now universally known that a correspondence with Rome, which, according to the modern discipline, is necessary for the maintenance of communion with the church, subjects the party to very heavy legal penalties. The residence of papal ecclesiastics in the British dominions is therefore only connived at, not legally tolerated.



A. D.

1603.

the papal system, the extravagance of the request, the fear of some new conspiracy, the confidence avowed by the recusants, that they could command what they had chosen to solicit; and that sterner spirit of Protestantism, which was now spreading rapidly through the two islands, all united to arrest the progress of concession. The appearance of vigor, however, which the monarch was compelled to assume, did not accord either with the easiness of his temper, or the respect he felt and acknowledged for the "mother church" of Christendom. The papists soon learned to despise his timid moderation; and to the puritans, while he laboured to mitigate their asperities, he became himself an object of suspicion and disgust.<sup>a</sup>

1605. It is remarkable, that though the hierarchy thus affected to rely on his entire devotedness to their cause, they would not suffer their followers to take an oath of allegiance.—The discovery of the gunpowder treason had been so far from ruffling the benevolence of the king or thwarting his schemes of conciliation, that his naturally undignified character rose with the emergency, into a clemency and magnanimity truly royal. In his speech to the parliament, he observed "that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to include

<sup>a</sup> The particulars mentioned in this paragraph are detailed by Carte, *Life of Ormond, Introduction*; by Leland, vol. ii. 416; by Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 610; and by Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii. 10.

A. D.  
1605.

all the Romanists in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. The wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favor; and many holy men, our ancestors among the rest, had concurred with the church of Rome in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles concerning the pope's power of dethroning kings. For his part, the conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter in the least his plan of government: while with one hand he punished guilt, with the other he would support and protect innocence."<sup>a</sup> To discriminate those whose loyalty was thus to recommend them to his favour, the acute but somewhat pedantic monarch bestowed much pains upon the preparation of a test oath. As, notwithstanding the explanations of the church and legislature, the "spiritual supremacy" of Elizabeth continued to be misinterpreted, he considerably relinquished the invidious claim: on the other hand, the skill with which he insisted on civil fidelity was calculated to secure a fair equivalent. His oath differs from the present one in some curious particulars: it opens with a declaration that James was *rightful* king; it says, "notwithstanding any excommunication, passed or *to be passed*, I will bear true allegiance;" above all, it pronounces the deposing doctrine *heretical*.

<sup>a</sup> Hume, 6, 38.

A. D.  
1605.

Upon the first publication of this celebrated formula, it almost had the effect which was intended by the royal framer. "Various were the opinions concerning it," says a titular bishop of the last century, "and much dissension arose among the lay leaders of the Catholics, the priesthood, and the professors of scholastic theology. Some opposed it strenuously; others took it without hesitation, pleading the necessity of relieving themselves from the penal laws, and their intention of promising only civil obedience. But the controversy was ended by the pontiff Paul V. who in a brief addressed to the Catholics of England and Ireland, pronounced the oath unlawful."<sup>a</sup> The following is a copy of this memorable edict:

"To the Catholics of England and Ireland.

"Beloved children, health and apostolical benediction.

"The tribulations which you have borne for the Catholic faith, have always deeply afflicted us; but now that we have heard of the increase of your sufferings, our grief has been embittered to a most painful degree. For we have learned that you are compelled, under severe penalties, to frequent the temples of the heretics and listen to their preachings. Truly we believe, that those who have hitherto so firmly endured the most atrocious persecutions, that they might walk without spot

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*.

A. D.  
1605.

in the law of the Lord, will not now permit themselves to be contaminated by any communion with apostates. Nevertheless, being impelled by the zeal of our pastoral office, and by that paternal solicitude which we feel for the safety of your souls, we are moved to warn and adjure you, that you on no account enter the temples of the heretics or participate in their religious rites, lest you incur the wrath of God. Furthermore, you cannot, without the most grievous injury to the divine honour, bind yourselves by an oath, which, with much sorrow of heart we understand to be proposed to you.”—*The oath is recited here, then the pontiff proceeds*—“It must be clear to you from the very words, that this oath cannot be taken with safety to the Catholic faith and your own souls. We admonish you, therefore, that you abstain from this and all such oaths ; and we require this the more urgently, because that, having experienced the constancy of your faith, which has been tried by persecution, as gold in the furnace, we hold it as certain, that you will cheerfully submit to all tortures, even to death itself, rather than offend in any wise against the majesty of God. And our assurance is strengthened by those actions which shine forth now in your martyrs, with no less splendor than the achievements of the first ages of the church.—Stand therefore, having your loins girded with truth, and putting on the breast-plate of righteousness, and taking the shield of faith : be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, and let



A. D.  
1605.



nothing restrain you. He who beholds your contest from the heavens, and is ready to crown you with glory, will himself accomplish the good work in you : he has promised never to leave you as orphans, and you know that his promises are sure. Adhere, therefore, to his discipline, being rooted and grounded in love, for by this shall all men know that you are his disciples, if you love one another. Which love, as it is much to be desired by all faithful Christians, so, my beloved children, is it especially necessary for you. For thus will be broken that power of the devil which now rises against you, and which is chiefly supported by the mutual discord of my children."

The authenticity of this decree having been questioned by the loyal party, it was confirmed the year following in a second brief of the same pontiff. Some time after, it was again enforced by the succeeding pope Urban, who pronounced, "that the Catholics ought to lose their lives, rather than take the condemned oath." "It was," he said, "pernicious and unlawful, designed not only to maintain the fidelity due to the king, but to wrest the sceptre of the universal church from the vicar of Almighty God."

By these means the controversy was soon terminated in Ireland ; but in the other island, where the Roman Catholics bore a greater proportion to the faction of the pope, the spirit of loyalty was not subdued so easily. A very interesting account of the origin, progress, and final rejection of the

oath in England, has been given by a Roman Catholic bishop of that country. The following are extracts :

A. D.  
1605.

“Had the Catholics in a body, upon the accession of James, waited on him with the *Protestation of Allegiance*, as containing their true and loyal sentiments, it is probable that we should have heard no more of recusancy or of penal prosecutions. His good will to the professors of that religion was, from the earliest impressions, deeply marked on his heart ; but in the creed of the majority, at least of a majority of their ministers, he knew there was a principle admitted, that of the papal prerogative over the crowns of princes, which could ill accord with the exalted opinion he entertained of his royal dignity and independence. Both parliament and king, aware that some Catholics, from conscientious scruples objected to the oath of supremacy, and still that there were many whose civil principles were sound and loyal, seriously desired to offer them a political test which should establish a just discrimination ; that is, should show them who might be safely trusted. With this view, the oath of allegiance was framed, to which, it was thought every Catholic would cheerfully submit, who did not believe the bishop of Rome to have power to depose kings and give away their dominions. The oath, accordingly, was taken by many Catholics, both laity and clergy ; and a ray of returning happiness gleamed around them. But a cloud soon gathered on the seven hills ; for it

A. D.  
1605.



could not be that a test, the main object of which was an explicit rejection of the *deposing power*, should not raise vapours there—The Catholics were thrown into the utmost confusion ; new dissensions arose ; controversies were renewed, while the king, the government and the nation, strengthened in their first prejudices, were now authorised to declare, that men whose *civil conduct* was subject to the controul of a foreign court could with no justice claim the common right of citizens. The laws of the preceding reign were ordered to be executed, and new ones additionally severe, were enacted. With what face then can it be asserted, that the Roman bishop or his court have constantly promoted the best interests of the English Catholics, when their religion itself was exposed to danger, and themselves and their posterity involved in much misery, that an ambitious prerogative might not be curtailed ?”—“The priests who took the oath of allegiance were harrassed by a papal decree, whereby they were deprived of all their jurisdiction, and consigned to penury and ignominy. Of these, many surrendered themselves into the hands of justice, to obtain a scanty maintenance, an act of direful necessity which the men of their own faith could represent as a sinful apostacy from religion. Others retracted, and among them two of the thirteen who had signed the protestation of allegiance ;—but the bulls of Paul, it seems, had extinguished all consistency of reason and inspired them with a love of martyrdom. They died, be-

cause, when called upon by the legal authority of their country, they would not declare that the Roman bishop had no right to dethrone princes.”<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1605.

Some priests, fellow prisoners of the two who had been executed, addressed an affecting petition to the pope, praying that he would explain in what particulars the oath was unlawful. “Immured,” said they, “in a dungeon, surrounded by all that is pernicious and revolting, bereft of the solace of friendly communion and the society of all good men, we live in darkness. From this place, in which thirteen of us had been confined for our rejection of the oath, two of our number went forth last year to suffer as invincible martyrs, and exhibited a sight of sublime interest, to God, to angels, and to men.—By the blood of these martyrs, by our own toils and sufferings, by our chains and tortures and all-enduring patience, and if these things do not move you, by the bowels of the Divine Compassion we implore you, turn a portion of your consideration to the afflictions of the English Catholics. There are some who fluctuate between you<sup>b</sup> and Cæsar; in order, therefore, that the truth may be made manifest, we pray that your holiness would vouchsafe to point out those propositions in the oath of allegiance, which are

<sup>a</sup> Berrington, *Memoirs of Panzani*, Introduction, 68—78. Mr. Butler mentions the execution of these priests, but with his customary reserve, leaves his readers to conjecture the cause.

<sup>b</sup> The word in the Gospel, it will be remembered, is GOD. The passage above given is quoted by Dr. O’Conor from Dodd’s *Church History*, iii. 524.



A. D.  
1605.



opposed to faith and salvation." The vicar of Christ would not condescend to explain : " he could sit " — it is a papal bishop who thus vents his indignation,—" he could sit undisturbed in the Vatican, hearing that men were imprisoned, and that blood was poured out in support of a claim which had no better origin than the ambition of his predecessors and the weak concessions of mortals ; he could sit and view the scene, and not, in pity at least, wish to redress their sufferings by releasing them from the injunctions of his decree."

The Irish priesthood gave, as usual, more serious provocation, and, as usual, escaped with lighter penalties. The growing confidence of their faction, the weakness of the government, the predilection of the landlords for a Roman Catholic tenantry, and the execration in which all classes held the character of an informer, contributed to encourage and protect their intrigues. Far from being exposed to too severe a scrutiny, that speculative treason which contented itself with refusing a pledge of allegiance, seemed from its rarity and the strong relief of contrast, as if almost elevated to the merit of loyalty. It would, indeed be strange, if in a country where the spirit of the order and the arts of the Roman court were producing their annual fruits of sedition, these ecclesiastics had enjoyed in every case, an unclouded and tranquil impunity. A statute passed in the second year of Elizabeth had armed the executive with considerable powers against them, and from time to time,

at seasons of peculiar alarm, a proclamation from Dublin castle was discharged over their heads to announce the probability of its enforcement : but their admirable discipline at first, and afterwards, experience of the slightness of the danger, taught them to stand the ineffectual fire. From Henry the Eighth to George the Third, a period of two troubled and eventful centuries in which, with the exception of a few Fransiscans, not one of the priesthood was found trust-worthy, the diligence of faction has not been rewarded with the discovery of half a dozen instances of vindictive animadversion.

A. D.  
1605.

It is said by modern writers of the church of Rome, by Dr. O'Connor on the Roman Catholic side, by Mr. Plowden in the opposite extreme, and by Mr. Butler, who wishes to mediate between these conflicting parties,—that the oath of James is *substantially* the same with that which has been taken for the last fifty years. If their agreement could be clearly shown, and if it were also certain that the present is an adequate test,<sup>a</sup> there would remain little reason for doubting that popery is extinct in the British islands. But those who reflect on the refined and systematic equivocation of the papal schools, will be slow to admit an identity of import without a precise correspondence in the terms. The truth is, that these gentlemen, from different, but equally efficacious motives, have been unjust to the learned sagacity of James,

<sup>a</sup> See, however, the *Digest of Evidence*, part 2, chap. 8.

A. D.  
1605.  
}

and too lenient to the presumptuous ignorance of the late Irish legislature. They felt, also, a common anxiety, that an important change should appear to have taken place in the political principles of the body to which, in common, they belonged ; and were thus prompted to maintain, that a pledge which had been refused at an earlier period, was substantially given in their own times. But when they descend to particulars, and they were too discreet to penetrate very deeply, the hopes raised by this confident but vague asseveration, are immediately dispersed. Dr. O'Connor, pursuing the steps of some Gallican divines, and a few loyal Irishmen of the seventeenth century, is quite willing to call the deposing doctrine *heretical*.<sup>a</sup> Mr. Plowden, on the contrary, while he contends that, by taking the present oath he has *equivalently* taken that of James, objects to this epithet, "because," as he says, "there never was a *heresy* of such a tendency."<sup>b</sup> The expression is obscure, but the meaning seems to be, that though many have held the doctrine, yet they were not heretics ; their error, if it were one, did not amount to heresy, or exclude them from the fellowship of an infallible church. To the same effect is the *Theological Judgment* of Dr. Milner and the priesthood of his midland district : "al-

<sup>a</sup> Father Walsh calls it the *Hildebrandine Heresy*, from pope Hildebrand, *i. e.* *Saint Gregory the Seventh*.

<sup>b</sup> *Historical Letter to Columbanus*, 153, *Appendix 6*.

A. D.  
1605.

though we have for ourselves abjured the deposing doctrine, yet following the example of our predecessors, who, chiefly on account of the extravagant and false terms therein contained, refused King James's oath of allegiance, *we declare*, that it is utterly unlawful and *contrary to the doctrine* of our church, for a Catholic to condemn upon oath the mere deposing doctrine, as damnable and heretical."<sup>a</sup> This language is instructive: the divines abjure the alarming tenet; but they confess that if they were to call it heretical, they would be contradicting the doctrine of the church, or in other words, incurring themselves that guilt of heresy which they imputed to others: they declare inferentially, that the church, or some authority which they receive as that of the church, *has a doctrine* upon the subject; a doctrine which must be unerringly true, yet is of too sacred and delicate a character to be exposed to the gaze of Protestants, or of the vulgar of their own communion.

Finally, when from these adverse statements we turn to the guarded moderation of Mr. Butler, he informs us that "the church tolerates both parties," both that which holds, and that which renounces, the deposing doctrine. This gentleman, the advocate of the measures which were opposed by Dr. Milner and his clerical associates, *could* not speak unfavourably of the oath of James;

<sup>a</sup> *Evidence of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, Lords' Report, 752.*



A. D.  
1605.

but it is interesting to observe the steadiness with which, as a historian, he poises the nice balance of impartiality. He acknowledges his persuasion, "that nothing could be wiser or more humane than James's purpose in framing the oath;" "that his views were kind, salutary, and most benign." But this praise of good intentions on the part of the monarch is qualified by an attempt to show that other views were attributed, and *not without reason*, to his ministers and advisers. The sinister purposes thus imputed were "first to divide the Catholics about the lawfulness of the oath, secondly to expose them to daily persecution in case of refusal, and in consequence of this to represent them as disaffected persons and of unsound principles."<sup>a</sup> Now if this were wickedness, James himself must be involved in the accusation; for he avowed his anxiety to distinguish the well disposed from those whom in his homely but appropriate language, he called Gunpowder Papists. It was an anxiety which, one would suppose, might be very consistently shared by the most liberal minister; to protect and cherish men of approved loyalty without reference to their creeds; to watch, and if necessary, to coerce others, whom disaffection, not dissent, had rendered obnoxious. Yet Mr. Butler calls it a *persecution*: had he said, that treason was part of his religion, the abuse of words would not have been greater, though it

<sup>a</sup> See *History of Catholics*, i. 307, 308, &c.

A. D.  
1605.

might have required a more serious correction. And why should an endeavour "to divide the Catholics" be so heinous an offence in the judgment of this able and temperate writer. The church, he says, tolerates both parties, and probably he wishes to imitate her neutrality? There is not however, that perfect equality of regard which the historian imagines : the conduct of the church betrays the quarter to which her affection inclines, while her silence proves, if not her infallibility, at least the profoundness of her worldly wisdom. The devoted fidelity of the Papist is *favoured*; the timid and respectful doubts of the Roman Catholic are *tolerated* : the former class constitutes the effective strength of the papacy; the latter serves not only to magnify its ostensible numbers, but to recruit the disposable force with continual supplies. It is therefore not without good reason that the court of Rome and the local hierarchy oppose every effort to separate these classes. Their policy has always been, and is at the present moment, directed to this point, that the civil government should accept their interference as the only security for the good citizenship of their followers. They know the importance of presenting an imposing front, and negotiating at the head of an unbroken phalanx. Nothing will be endured which threatens to thin their ranks or enervate their discipline; no test will be sanctioned, no conditions will be allowed, to which they are not contracting parties. Honour is called in to the

A. D.

1605.



aid of faith; the generous are taught to forget private opinion, and to forego private interest, in devotion to the common cause; when the honesty of instinct recoils from expressions of approbation, the venial duplicity of acquiescence is adroitly recommended; and selfishness is cheered in its reluctant abstinence, by a seasonable announcement of that glorious time when all may rush in together, and riot in the enjoyment of unconditional emancipation. Thus it happens, that by some suitable appliance to every variety of temperament, a spirit of political union is diffused among the members of the papal church: mutual strangers are attracted by a some sympathetic regards; and even disputants are conscious of a secret good understanding, which often renders their differences more friendly than their concord with other men.

Mr. Butler himself appears to have been swayed by some influence of this nature. The controversy in which this gentleman and Dr. Milner were arranged on opposite sides, is thus described by an eminent and active cotemporary. "The oath of 1778 was not found to be effectual in removing the prejudices of Protestants; and many of the Roman Catholics, who were anxious to be thought worthy of admission to the whole constitution, desired to give a further pledge of their civil principles. Accordingly the English committee drew up a protestation, which was very generally signed by the body; the favourable effect it produced was sudden and extensive, so much so that some

A. D.  
1605.

persons in power thought it advisable to introduce a new oath, founded on the protestation, into a bill for further relief. But some of those who had signed the protestation had by this time reflected on their conduct, and they viewed it with horror, as reprobating certain principles which they had *ever been taught to venerate*: others, men of punctilious and sophistic minds, had leisure to examine their store of quirks and quibbles for perplexing the ignorant and disturbing the timid, while they claimed for themselves the credit of saving religion, and shielding the integrity of the Catholic faith. The controversy that now took place was acrimonious and stubborn, *in every point most minutely resembling that which had been excited by the oath of James. It even seemed that, after the lapse of almost two hundred years, the same men existed to combat*, and that their generation had not passed away. To persons of reflection, however, the thought was melancholy, that, with the tenets of our faith, our opinions also had been stationary, that is, our reason had not been progressive: and that we too nearly approached to that class of beings, which naturalists, from their unvarying character, have defined to be imperfectible. The vicars apostolic condemned the oath; their censure had the concurrence of the bishops in Ireland and Scotland, and finally received its ratification from the Pope."

"I am informed," proceeds this respectable man, "that many priests, with the vicars Walmsley and



A. D.  
1605.

Douglas at their head, have recently withdrawn their names from the protestation, and that their act is recorded in an authentic instrument termed a counter-protestation. Are we therefore sure that there may not also be a counter-oath? when our enemies, *as I thought them*, used to proclaim that no form of words could bind us, I indignantly repelled the charge. In future, *I and others must be silent, hang our heads and blush.*"<sup>a</sup> One priest persevered in his advocacy of the oath and protestation; he was censured by his bishop, Dr. Walmsley, to whom the special thanks of the congregation de Propaganda Fide was conveyed in the following letter :

"Most Illustrious and Rev. Lord, our Brother.

"Your Lordship's despatches of the 18th of October afforded singular satisfaction to their eminences the fathers of the congregation. They were gratified, not only by your report of the present prosperous state of religion in England, but by the zeal with which you had subdued the boldness of the missionary Joseph Wilks, who, in conjunction with others, had opposed the encyclical letters of the vicars apostolic against the oath proposed to the Catholics. Your conduct, in compelling that person by ecclesiastical censures to return to his duty and make the necessary recantation, was so approved by their eminences, that they judged it

<sup>a</sup> Berrington, *Memoirs of Gregorie Panzani*.

suitable to decree your lordship their distinguished thanks.

A. D.  
1605.

I am,

Your Lordship's brother,

L. CARDINAL ANTONELLI, President."

Rome, March 10th, 1792.

To those who wish to enjoy the fruits of history, this suspension of the narrative, for the purpose of comparing the present with the past, is not unimportant, and should not be unacceptable. It proves that the coincidence is much more exact than Roman Catholics have represented, or Protestants hoped; that James's oath is not taken either in substance or in terms; and that the legislature has made no progress towards the establishment of a safe distinction between the loyal and the disaffected members of the church of Rome.—We may now return into the regular course of events. 1613.

"From the time of proposing the oath," says a cotemporary titular bishop, "the measures of the Catholics were conducted in secrecy, until the assembling of a parliament gave them a fresh opportunity of displaying the ardour of their faith and zeal."<sup>a</sup> In the interval, both the surface and the internal structure of the social fabric in Ireland, had undergone considerable changes. The clans were entirely broken; the ancient jurisdiction, whether of the Brehon code, or of the more pow-

<sup>a</sup> Routh, *Analeta Sacra*.

A. D.  
1613.  
}

erful will of the chieftains, was abolished; and the pale, the region of English law, was at length co-extensive with the whole island. The people of the Milesian race, the old English, and the new settlers, were held together in solution, for a season of precarious and delusive tranquillity; they met in ordinary life, and were now to meet in parliament, upon the common footing of British subjects. This policy of James, much as it has been extolled both by early and recent authorities, and wise as, in other circumstances, it would doubtless have been, swelled the power of the prelates to a degree, which, soon after, proved nearly fatal to all good government and rational freedom. "The Irishry," says Sir John Davis, "who in former times were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into his majesty's immediate protection. Our visitation of the shires, however distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the king, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and so the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people suddenly fell and vanished." It was very true that, under the ancient system, the lords had been tyrants and the people slaves; and in proportion as it *was* true, in the same degree were the slaves unqualified for immediate emancipation. Had James

A. D.  
1613.

been, as he is sometimes most absurdly called, the lawgiver of Ireland, he would have seen the folly of imposing all the responsibilities of freedom upon a race which long oppression had almost degraded from the rank of moral agents. The lords fell; and when the first pleasure of the change was over, their former vassals, the helpless inhabitants of nineteen<sup>a</sup> counties, laid down their irksome liberties at the feet of the hierarchy. Thus the prelates in their adversity were suddenly invested with a dominion over the populace, for which their order had struggled incessantly but in vain, during the more showy ages of its connection with the state. A subordinate share of this power was prudently given to the Lawyers, a body which the same precipitancy of government had just brought out into political existence, and which has ever since repaid the patronage of the church, by a vigorous and submissive co-operation. By the abrupt introduction of English law, the advice of these men had become a matter of almost daily necessity to multitudes of the natives, who were utterly ignorant of their new rule of life; from advice it was no difficult step to authority, and authority acquired somewhat of a sacred character from the sanction of the ecclesiastics. Such was the origin of that domestic government, which, surviving the agitations of two stormy centuries, continues to attest, at the present moment, the

<sup>a</sup> Mary had made two, the King's and Queen's counties; James created seventeen.



A. D.  
1613.  
~~~~~

malignant sagacity of its founders. At every stage and in every form of its existence, it has produced the same fruits ; disaffection among Roman Catholics, disgust and alarm among Protestants, contempt and ignominy to the civil power, and calamity to the cause which it professed to maintain.

The commanding relation in which the prelates now stood to the mass of the people aided them in the accomplishment of another object, the delicate and important task of Conciliation. In the more flourishing days of the church, the hierarchy, proud of its station at the head of an ascendancy party, had fomented the animosity between the colonists and the natives : adversity taught the prudence of a blander policy ; and the evils, which had been experienced from the feud during the latter years of Elizabeth, gave double force to the admonition. The influence of the lawyers, who were all of the English pale, and from being the contemptuous enemies of the Irish,<sup>a</sup> now affected the character of their guides and protectors, had some effect in appeasing this hereditary discord :—complete success was reserved for a higher power. Many of the bishops and heads of religious orders, men of talents for in-

<sup>a</sup> “ It is evident,” says an observer of these transactions, “ that until of late the old English pale despised the mere Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, void of civility *and* religion, and each of them held the other as a hereditary enemy ; and so it would have continued many years to come, had not these latter times produced a change.”—*Discourse of Ireland. Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i.

trigue, and entirely devoted to the papal interest, were themselves Anglo-Irish of respectable family; their advancement was disagreeable to some Milesian zealots, but Rome knew how to appreciate the value of the argument to be derived from their implicit and edifying obedience.<sup>a</sup> It was the peculiar office of these persons to neutralize old antipathies by the more powerful agency of a counterpassion. A spirit of fanaticism which has but one parallel in our history—the fury of the present awful times—was diffused through the whole country, animating equally the populace of both races, and carrying away all other impulses in the headlong vehemence of its career. Factions, upon whose mutual and unmitigated hatred the suns of four centuries and a half had gone down, forgetting their quarrels, found in heresy an object for their consenting execration, and were content to derive their rights from the *Divine right* of their Common Father. Miracles, prophecies, and pastoral addresses, supplied their faith with its spiritual aliment; while the cry of “O’Neil is coming,” gave the exhilarating assurance that they were not to be left without human aid. The irreclaimable

A. D.  
1613.

<sup>a</sup> “It is known by experience,” says Father Walsh, a cotemporary, “that one prelate or churchman of the old English stock hath been heretofore, and is at present, more able to work the laity of the same extraction to traitorous designs, than a whole hundred of the other.” By *them* was implanted that implicit devotion to Rome, of which J. K. L. has so much reason to boast as still pervading the descendants of the early colonists, and which has given a proverbial currency to the character, *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*.

A. D.  
1613.

treachery of that chieftain had consigned him to exile some years before: a pensioner at the court of Spain, advancing age and habits of dependence had broken his ambitious spirit; and now it was rumoured that he was preparing to invade his native country, as the ally of a priesthood which he had formerly despised,<sup>a</sup> and the creature of a foreign power of which he had been the haughty and respectable competitor.

The higher classes, having opposite interests and little superstition, were not so easily united as the lower: but their mutual jealousies, far from embarrassing the church, multiplied its instruments and secured the advantages of a division of labour. The Irish, born to turbulence and the *expectation* of land—an expectation which had been disappointed, partly by the recent forfeitures, but much more by the introduction of the English laws of inheritance—were ruined and reckless men, who disdained all occupation but that of the sword, and whose only hope was in some effort of desperate adventure. The dreams by which some of them were still visited, that Ireland might be erected into a separate kingdom, were unacceptable to the prelates, but gave no serious apprehen-

<sup>a</sup> During the whole of this and part of the following reign, the priesthood of *both islands* were in the interest, and many of them in the pay, of the Spanish monarchy. The titulars of Dublin and Cashel are particularly mentioned as pensioners of Spain; the general memorial of the Irish hierarchy in 1617 was addressed to the Spanish court; and we are told by bishop Berrington, that the English Jesuits, three hundred in number, were all “of the Spanish faction.”

sion : the majority would follow the fortunes of Ò'Neil, and the valour of these fiercer spirits, without strength or guidance for a separate enterprise, might be safely employed in fatiguing the common enemy.—While the Irish were thus in readiness for some daring exertion, the Roman Catholic gentry of English extraction occupied the fore-ground of this troubled scene, agitating their minor and preliminary grievances. Their property, which was very considerable, was the fruit of conquest or confiscation, and one portion of it, the spoil of the monastic houses, lay under the heavier opprobrium of sacrilege ; circumstances which may be admitted as sufficient evidence that, in entering upon their factious career, they had not looked to a rebellion or the triumph of their associates. Their designs were more limited and more pacific : deprived of their old monopoly of office, and mortified at the growing prosperity of the later settlers,<sup>a</sup> they had gone into *opposition* ; and they practised the customary devices of party, thwarting, to enhance the value of their venal co-operation. But in leaguings with the hierarchy they had committed themselves to those from whom few have ever escaped with impunity : services of continually increasing danger, which

A. D.  
1613.

<sup>a</sup> One of the grievances in "the Civil Government of Ireland," of which the Catholic Association in 1613 complained to the crown, was that the new nobility had obtained larger estates, and enjoyed more of the confidence of government, than the lords of the pale. This memorial is preserved in the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i.



A. D.  
1613.  
}

the honor of consistency could not decline, were pointed out by their spiritual guides, until they were drawn insensibly within the vortex of treason ; and the necessity of maintaining their seditious consequence made them slaves of the passions they had contributed to excite. When they made professions of disaffection or fanaticism, the fears of the government and the over-apt simplicity of the mob conspired with the cunning of an interested priesthood in giving them credit for sincerity ; a credit which at first they by no means deserved, but which had a tendency to realise its most ample anticipations.

As a body, the Roman Catholics had little to look for ; *nothing*, which those among them who observed a respectful demeanour towards the government, were not obtaining every day from its prudence or liberality. They were fully in possession of that great object which, at present, excites so much turbulent desire : the doors of both houses of the legislature lay wide open ; nor had the more aspiring been driven to purchase admissibility by betraying the rights of their humbler compatriots. By a tenure which was more precarious, only because it depended more upon themselves, they were sheriffs of cities and counties, justices of the peace, mayors and aldermen of corporations ; they practised at the bar, held commissions in the army and places about the court, were occasionally admitted to the privy council ; and in the next reign, without any change in the

law, we find some generals, and even a lord deputy, among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. A statute, enacted in the second year of Elizabeth, had made the oath of supremacy a qualification for these offices; and for some years, the love of place or the natural impulse of loyalty checked the growth of polemical scruples. The test was taken by persons, who in all other respects, were members of the church of Rome, nor does it appear that their compliance was ever visited with spiritual censures. At length, as the consciences of the recusants became more delicate or their policy more mature, the oath was universally declined: government respected the questionable prejudice; and the dispensing power of the sovereign—offensive in England to the growing spirit of liberty, and in the end, fatal to its possessor—was in Ireland always exercised on the side of indulgence. The oath was committed to the discretion of the local ministry—as an instrument for the removal of a seditious magistrate, perhaps, as a criterion of the wavering or suspected, but as an unnecessary and invidious trial of those whose conduct already attested the integrity of their allegiance. Upon the whole, the condition of the Irish recusants was, at least, not inferior to that in which, after the lapse of two centuries of illumination, Protestants are now placed by the most liberal governments of the Roman Catholic communion.<sup>a</sup> Their civil privi-

A. D.  
1613.

<sup>a</sup> In making such comparisons, two important differences must always be kept in mind. First, a Protestant clergy contracts no

A. D.  
1613.

leges were ample, and it was always in their power by a conciliating conduct to raise themselves to an equality with the most favoured class of subjects : and the whole nation enjoyed the undisturbed exercise of their religion,<sup>a</sup> as long as its ministers abstained from political intrigue, and from that obtrusive pomp of celebration, which, if not offensive to Protestant conscience, was at least an unseemly rivalry with the established church.

Things were in this state, or in rapid progress towards it, when James resolved to summon the first national parliament of Ireland. Activity, corresponding to that phrenzied excitement which had banished all sobriety from the minds of the Roman Catholics, was displayed in preparing for the election. The aristocracy of the pale, long exercised in civil intrigues, and now the professed

obligations to a foreign power : if Protestant ministers in France or Germany took oaths of allegiance, and were otherwise in subjection, to the archbishop of Canterbury, we should probably hear but little of Roman Catholic liberality. Secondly, the Roman ritual has an aggressive publicity, the *free* exercise of which would be an invasion of the freedom of other religions : Protestants have no processions of a host, or a crucifix, or a statue of the Virgin ; neither do they compel men to a cessation from business on the festival of saints, or reputed saints.

<sup>a</sup> The words of lord Clarendon. “ Even in Dublin,” he continues, “ they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions, as he went to his. The bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of secular and regular clergy were known to be, and to exercise their functions among them ; and though there were some laws against them still in force, which necessity, and the wisdom of former ages had caused to be enacted, and the policy of the present times kept unrepealed ; yet their edge was so totally rebated that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in, or for, his religion.”—*Historical View*, 6. These laws, it is worth observing, are *still* unrepealed.

leaders of a rancorous opposition, had their agents in all parts, soliciting the freeholders of better rank; while the priests and lawyers were indefatigable in their exertions among the lower classes. Oaths of association; promises and threats; blessings and anathemas; hints of some undefined but imminent danger; and at the same time, assurances from ancient prophecies, that, if true to the church, they should speedily be relieved from the yoke of heresy;—all these were employed with an industry which has served as a model for the emulous labors of later times. The cause of their party was declared to be the cause of God, and the support of a Protestant, or of a Roman Catholic who attended the reformed worship “to hear the devil’s words,”<sup>a</sup> was denounced as a mortal sin. Ecclesiastical students and priests of all orders, who were then dispersed in great numbers over the Continent, with the cavaliers engaged in the service of Roman Catholic powers, crowded eagerly home on this important occasion, to animate the hopes and share the labours of their brethren. The struggle which ensued was fierce and dubious; the boroughs newly enfranchised by James were almost exclusively in the hands of the

A. D.  
1613.

<sup>a</sup> Such was the phrase of the time, according to O’Sullivan in his *Catholic History*, and the deposition taken before Sir Toby Caulfield, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. Forty years before, the liberality of Pius would have sanctioned the liturgy:—and it is not improbable that an opinion equally favourable may be expressed in our own times. If not sustained by the chicanery of our politicians, the papal church in Ireland must reform itself, or fall.



A. D.  
1613.



Protestants, and the numerous forfeitures of the last reign, with the recent plantation of Ulster, had given them a respectable but subordinate landed interest; in the counties, cities, and older corporations, the recusants had generally a preponderating weight. From the less showy character of their constituency, the return of the Protestant candidates was neither preceded nor accompanied by much popular sensation: on the contrary, the strength of the others lay in those places where feeling was most excited by the contest, and expectation proportionably raised by the event. The quality of the vanquished Protestants, many of whom were privy counsellors and supported by all the influence of the crown and their party, while their opponents were young barristers, whose chief recommendations were some factious notoriety and the favour of the priesthood, gave somewhat of mystical import to their defeat: it seemed as if the church had been struggling against the utmost human power which her great adversary could array against her; the strength of her cause was displayed in the feebleness of her weapons, and the issue was hailed by the exulting multitude as ominous of the approaching downfall of heresy. Elated by their victories, the recusant members set out in triumphant procession from the scenes of their respective contests to the seat of government: the rustic populace, men, women, and even children, received them with shouts of tumultuous greeting and admonitions to take care of the

A. D.  
1613.

Catholic faith : as they passed along, the contagion of enthusiasm added incessantly to their cavalcades, and they made their entry into the capital at the head of troops of armed retainers. Priests crowded to Dublin from all quarters of the country, to animate and direct the exertions of their representatives ; numbers also of private men, whose turbulence laid eager claim to the title of religious zeal, were attracted by these indications of a coming storm, and hastened to a spot which promised to find excitement for their lawless indolence, and alleviate the irksomeness of peace.<sup>a</sup>

Parliament met on the 18th of May. In the upper house, the transfer of the episcopal peerages, the extinction of the order of mitred abbots,<sup>b</sup> and the absence of Tyrone and other disaffected lords, had left the recusants in a hopeless minority : in the lower, the parties were nearly equal ; of two hundred and thirty-two members who composed that assembly, there being in attendance one hundred and twenty-five Protestants, and one hundred and one Roman Catholics. The first business of the Commons was to choose a speaker ; an affair which involved the opposing sects in abrupt and indecent hostilities. On the one side, Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, was put in nomination ; and on the other, Sir John Everard, a recusant knight

<sup>a</sup> The matter of this paragraph will be found in the titular bishops Routh and Burke, the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., and Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*.

<sup>b</sup> These particulars are feelingly mentioned by the titular bishop Burke.

A. D.  
1613.

and lawyer, who had been a judge, but to avoid the oath of supremacy, which for some reason now unknown was pressed upon him, had retired on a moderate pension. It was the custom of those days, that a division should be effected by the retiring of one of the parties to an ante-chamber : this movement was now unguardedly made by the Protestants, who, on their return into the house with an ascertained majority of twenty voices, were astonished to find Everard in the speaker's chair.—We are informed by Roman Catholic writers,<sup>a</sup> that when the Protestants had left the room, a zealous member of the other party addressed his brethren as follows :

“ They are gone, ill betide them ; and they have left us, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house. Wherefore, seeing that we have prospered thus far, we ought thankfully to pursue the course which God seems to have pointed out, by setting up here that holy faith, for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. We are encouraged to this by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, who, fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an honorable death and a glorious immortality. Should it be our lot so to perish, we shall be at least their equals in renown ; but if we avoid their indiscretions, higher fame and happier fortune will attend us. Nor is there reason to

<sup>a</sup> Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, who quotes from Routh and Dominic O'Daly, (the *Dominicus de Rosario* of the Quarterly Review.)

apprehend that, in so doing, we shall trespass aught against the king's majesty; seeing that the same should be his especial care, and that nothing is more necessary either for his soul's salvation or the righteous ruling of his kingdoms. Come then, let us maintain that religion, for which it is honourable to fight and seemly to die, and which to exalt is the highest glory of man. First of all, let us chuse for ourselves, a speaker and leader."<sup>a</sup>

A. D.  
1613.

This address was well received, and Everard installed as speaker. When the Protestants re-entered the room, they insisted vehemently that he should leave the chair; the others retorted with equal ardour, that he had been legitimately chosen, that a speaker could be elected only within the house, and that those who retired had forfeited their right of suffrage. Stung by the trick thus practised on them, the proposer and seconder of Sir John Davis led him up to the chair and placed him on Everard's lap: a violent tumult ensued; and had not the viceroy established the precautionary etiquette that the members should leave their swords at the outer door, the senate-house would have been polluted with the mutual slaughter of its factions. In the end the recusants were worsted; the chair was left to Davis, and the house to his supporters.

The proceedings of this day led to the establish-

<sup>a</sup> This is a literal translation of Burke's Latin;—it gives, if not the *language* of the orator, at least the *sentiments* of the titular bishop.



A. D.  
1613.

ment of two institutions, which, on several occasions since, and particularly in our own times, have attracted much notice;—a Catholic Association, and a Catholic Rent. The recusant members, discovering that they had over-rated their strength and that the ordinary tactics of parliamentary opposition would be insufficient for their purposes, deliberated on the expediency of a formal secession. Many motives induced the prelates to urge the adoption of this violent measure: it would divert the attention of the viceroy from their more secret intrigues; it would give brilliancy and somewhat of a constitutional form to the interior government they were labouring to organize; it would accustom the Roman Catholics to consider themselves as a distinct society, in political as well as religious concerns;<sup>a</sup> and, by the ferment it could not fail to excite, prepare them to receive O'Neil, whose arrival, in the course of a very few months, was now confidently expected by the Spanish faction.<sup>b</sup> A full meeting of both

<sup>a</sup> The occasion suggests to Burke the use of language which has ever been appropriated to politics: *Respublica nostra* is the term by which he describes the Roman Catholic community organized under its separate government.

<sup>b</sup> Tyrone is said to have a design for Ireland; the same intelligence reports, that he hath found means to raise a competent force to put the kingdom in a flame; and, to move us to be jealous that the intelligence is in part or in all true, there is the late coming of the pope's archbishop of Dublin into Ireland, who hath a pension of three hundred ducats per — of the Spanish king, and was sent from Lovaine into Spain to negotiate for Tyrone's support. This his repair into Ireland, agreeing with the intelligence, gives no less cause of suspicion than the sight of a sea

A. D.  
1613.

houses, for the purpose of hearing the speech from the throne, had been fixed for the Friday after the election of a speaker: the call had been notified by a special message to each of the recusant peers: the commoners were summoned by a privy counsellor, who waited on them at the place where they were assembled for consultation. In the name of the whole party, Everard acquainted this gentleman, "that as parliament sat in the castle where the freedom of debate and action was over-awed by an armed guard, the Catholics would not make their appearance: that for himself, he had been duly elected speaker; and that he could not attend his excellency except in that capacity, accompanied by *his* members and preceded by the mace." The day following, the commoners were joined by the lords of the pale and some other noblemen, and all coalesced into one association for the prosecution of the common cause. Rising gradually in their complaints, these malcontents protested—against the place chosen for the sitting

bird, called a petral, of a storm ensuing. Tyrone's council aims no farther than to try his own fortune by stolen forces brought with him, although it must be confessed that the slightest occasion, countenanced by his presence, and fomented by the priests, is sufficient to disturb the peace of the realm and to set a fire in every part thereof, which will cost the lives of many of his majesty's subjects and the exhausture of great masses of treasure, before it be pacified. It will not move the cities, nor the gentlemen of the English pale, or men of great possessions, although their hearts are with him, to set up their rests upon so weak a foundation, but as in former times, they will be lookers on to see how the game is played."—*Discourse of Ireland*, (written in 1613,) *Desiderata Curiosa*.

A. D.  
1613.

of the parliament, against the lord deputy's guard of a hundred foot, against the election of the speaker, against the return of some of the members, against the creation of some of the new shires, and more particularly, of the new boroughs, and against the authority of the viceroy to call a parliament. These proceedings they described as "strange and grievous courses;" "extremities, such as had never been heard of, and could not be believed;" they styled their displeasure "a just and pious indignation," and refused to give the name of a parliament to the assemblies which might be held during their secession. They declared that, if any laws were made without their concurrence, the people would reject them; hinted the possibility of an armed resistance, and, in a spirit of candour which seems to have reanimated a modern convention, almost disclosed the measures by which it might be effected. Intimations were thrown out, that they were stronger than the government, that, if disturbed in their plans, they might rise in arms, cut the throats of the Protestants, besiege the lord deputy in his castle, and by force or famine compel him to sue for peace with the Catholics. Circumstances, sufficient to make an impression on the firmest executive, added to the weight of these menaces. One thousand nine hundred and seventy men, cavalry and infantry, composed at this time the royal army of Ireland: the recusant senators, with the friends and re-

A. D.  
1613.

tainers who followed them from the country, had provided themselves with arms; and the Roman Catholics of the city, men, youths, and boys, had caught the military as well as the religious ardour of their compatriots.<sup>a</sup> Every thing in Dublin threatened an immediate conflict; and through the industry of the priests, and the natural influence of faction in attracting to itself all the loose discontents of an agitated country, the whole island was ready to follow the example of the capital.—To allay this commotion by removing its apparent cause, or at least, to gain time for consultation with the English cabinet, the disconcerted viceroy prorogued the parliament.

The mutineers,<sup>b</sup> having thus routed the rival legislature and encountering no further pretext for insurrection, were content with the bloodless prosecution of their intrigues. Upon the first assembling of parliament, they had petitioned the king that they might be permitted to lay their grievances before his majesty in person; permission had been given, in the more cogent shape of a command to come and answer for the desertion of their parliamentary duties; and a modest deputation of two peers and four commoners, appointed

<sup>a</sup> To save the trouble of continual references, it may be as well to state, once for all, that the narrative in the text is no more than an abridgement of what may be found in the papal writers, O'Sullivan, Routh, Porter, Burke, &c.: nothing is stated upon the unsupported authority of a Protestant.

<sup>b</sup> This epithet is common to Cox, a somewhat intemperate Protestant, and Carte, an anxious conciliator.



A. D.  
1613.

to proceed to London.<sup>a</sup> But as the views of the association were now extended to the impeachment of the viceroy, and the formation of a *liberal* party in the cabinet and legislature of the other island, the occasion seemed to call for a greater pomp of delegation; thus the corps of deputies was gradually enlarged to eight peers, about twice as many members of the lower house, and a train of legal advisers. It was soon discovered that the support of this mission, and the furtherance of other and less ostensible objects, would require a public revenue; accordingly the first Catholic Rent was imposed, and the collection of it entrusted to the priests and lawyers. The scale of obligatory assessment, to be enforced, if necessary, by spiritual censures, included three rates; five shillings for a gentleman, two shillings for a yeoman, and four pence for a peasant.<sup>b</sup> No limits were assigned

<sup>a</sup> The lords Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Buttevant, Roche, Delvin, Dunboyne, Trimlestown; Sir Walter Butler, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Sir Christopher Nugent, Sir William Burke, Sir Thomas Burke, Sir Patrick Barnwell, Sir James Gough, Sir John Everard; William Talbot, Edward Fitzharris, Andrew Barrett, Richard Wadding, James Galway, Thomas Luttrell, Patrick Hussey, and M'Donough, chief of his name. In the whole party there were only two Milesians; the rest were persons whose fathers had cherished the most contemptuous malevolence towards the Irish, and the chief cause of whose discontent was the endeavour of the crown to abolish their oppressive monopoly.

<sup>b</sup> The higher rates are given by Cox from some MSS. depositions preserved in Lambeth library; the lowest is taken from the following article in the *Desiderata Curiosa*.

"Upon a Sunday about the end of May last, he was at mass at the Glynn, where Tirlough M'Crodden, a fryer there, lately come from beyond seas, said the mass, and was preaching most

to the voluntary offerings of the wealthy or the devout ; and such was the munificent zeal of the time, that a stock of two hundred cows and horses was obtained by a friar, in one day, from one rustic congregation. The viceroy at first expected that gentle measures and the private influence of government would be sufficient, in con-

A. D.  
1613.

part of the same day ; and in his sermon he declared that he was sent from the pope to persuade them that they should never alter their religion, but take the pope to be their true head, and rather go into rebellion than change their religion ; and that the English service proceeded from the seducement of the devil. Upon these speeches uttered by the friar, Neal M'Turlough spake aloud, saying, God be thanked that we heard this mass, God be blessed that such a one as you came among us to give this council ; for our parts, we will go into rebellion, and be eaten with dogs and cats, rather than go to the English service to hear the devil's words. And Shane Roe O'Quin said the very same words after him. And the fryer had at that day given him at least two hundred cows and garrons. The fryer further told them that the parliament was coming, and that it was a thing invented on purpose to cozen them and bring them from their religion. He said that there was certain money imposed for the expenses of men gone into England for the cause of religion, and for the charges of the knights of the shire, four pence on every couple. He exhorted them to pay it willingly and speedily, it was God's business they went about. He told them that the cattle they had given him was for the maintenance of fryers beyond seas, and that the pope would be highly pleased with the gifts they bestowed for godly purposes. He vehemently exhorted them not to be afraid, for that Tyrone was coming ; therefore, he willed them to be merry and of good courage ; and for the English, they were to have no rule nor power over them, but for two years. And further said, that he found by his reading in books at Rome, a prophecy that the English should cease their rule in Ireland when a bridge was built over the river at Liffey ; and that the king of Spain had eighteen thousand men in arms ready to come over, and that Tyrone should be their chief ; and that he would come within a year and a quarter, and overthrow the English and have Ireland to himself."—*O'Donnelly's Deposition*. Dr. Burke contents himself with a general acknowledgment that the priests collected a *sufficiently large sum*. (*Satis. amplam.*)

A. D.  
1613.  
~~~~~

currence with the poverty of the people, to abolish this novel impost: he then tried a proclamation, and was more successful. At the present day, the document will be read with some interest.

*A Proclamation by the Lord Deputy and Council.*

ARTHUR CHICHESTER,

Whereas we have been advised from many places in this kingdom, that, by the device and diligence of sundry Jesuits and Popish priests, and by the authority of certain recusant members of parliament, there hath been a general levying of money among the Popish recusant subjects of the king's majesty; and that divers persons have been appointed for the collection of the same: and whereas this burthen hath been laid upon his majesty's faithful people, under the pretext of paying the charges of certain nobles, and men of quality, lately gone into England; which persons are falsely reported by the said priests and collectors to have gone to supplicate the grace of our sovereign lord the king for a greater freedom of religion, seeing that they have been sent for by the command of our said lord to answer for their departure from the court of parliament; and whereas the said priests and collectors have spread this false report, that they might extort from the people a larger sum, the most part whereof it appeareth that they will convert to their own uses: and whereas it is an unheard of and intolerable arro-

A. D.  
1613.

gance in subjects to impose any tax upon his majesty's people, seeing that even his majesty's self doth not collect a tax without the free consent of the parliament of the realm : and whereas the king's majesty hath long since by various proclamations taken upon himself the protection of all his subjects in this kingdom ; We, his majesty's deputy and council, are bound by our place and office to protect his said subjects, and to free them from this most heavy and unjust tribute, by which it seemeth that their poverty will be much encreased. Wherefore, in the name of his most excellent majesty, we declare to all his faithful people, that all such exaction, extortion, or collection, is altogether unjust, and we forbid them to consent to the same, or to pay any sum or sums upon such pretences aforesaid. Likewise, in his majesty's name, we strictly enjoin all persons, appointed, or to be appointed, collectors or receivers of said tax, that they do not presume to collect or receive the same ; and that within ten days after the date of this proclamation, they pay back, without fraud or deceit, all such sum or sums, unto the persons from whom they have collected them. Otherwise, if any of his majesty's subjects shall complain of such collectors or receivers unto us, the lord deputy or council, or unto the judges of assize within their several circuits, instant means shall be taken for the restoration of said money and the punishment of the persons so offending. Lastly, in the name, and by the authority of his majesty, we strictly



A. D.  
1613.

enjoin all mayors, deputy mayors, justices of the peace, and all other officers of his majesty, that they cause diligent inquiry to be made concerning all persons, who have been, or shall be, collectors or receivers of said tax, and concerning the sums which they may respectively collect or receive; and that they may inform us of the same with all convenient speed, to the end that all such collectors and receivers may answer at their proper peril. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, July 9, 1613."

In the mean time, the delegates had been received by the king with his usual good nature, and more than his usual address. In the most courtly phrase of the day they informed their constituents, that "in presenting their expostulations to his princely audience, his majesty was benignly pleased to deliver, that their humble appeal to his sacred person was satisfaction sufficient to expiate the offence that might be proved against them, and that his mercy should qualify the rigor of his justice." Passing over the parliamentary questions, they presented a memorial containing eighteen charges against the civil government; and prayed that a commission might be appointed under the great seal, to examine into the alleged abuses. Their prayer was heard: four persons with whom they declared themselves perfectly satisfied "as most worthy selected gentlemen, of great trust, integrity, and wisdom,"<sup>a</sup> were joined

<sup>a</sup> There is some reason to believe that they had a well-grounded assurance of the favourable dispositions of these gentlemen. The

A. D.  
1613.

in a commission with the lord deputy. While the king waited for the report of these commissioners, he admitted the delegates to several conferences, some of them private, others before the council : his intellectual vanity, and the extreme familiarity of his language and manners, made this condescension rather dangerous to the greatness of royalty ; on the other hand, his shrewdness and information enabled him to improve those advantages which a monarch must possess, at least in the *opening* of a conversation with a subject. James was a polemic ; he had written a book, and a defence of it, against the deposing power of the pope ; a topic which, both as a sovereign and an author, he naturally regarded with some interest, and of which it was scarcely possible to avoid the introduction, in speaking with men who had rejected his *own* oath of allegiance. One day, by insinuating question after question, he imperceptibly drew them on to the great difficulty,—Whether the heresy of a prince, otherwise sovereign and absolute, forfeited his title and justified the pope's interference against him : some answered that it did, and among them Talbot and Luttrell were remarked as the most peremptory. Luttrell was sent to the Fleet Prison ; Talbot, whose language

commissioners reported their inability to discover any evidence that the recusant members had made their entry into Dublin at the head of armed retainers ; though the fact is avowed by bishop Routh, an eye-witness of these transactions, and secretary to the “ Catholic Hierarchy ” of the day. To abstain, as far as possible, from giving a triumph to either party in Ireland, has been, much too frequently, the feeble policy of the English cabinet.

A. D.  
1613.

had been particularly offensive, was committed to close confinement in the Tower, and sentenced by the Star Chamber to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. At the same time, some intercepted letters of Sir Patrick Barnwall having been laid before the privy council, that gentleman was compelled to make a written apology, which was dictated by the council and contained a renunciation of the deposing doctrine. These vigorous measures lowered the tone of the delegates; and the Report of the Commission, which was just received,<sup>a</sup> and which the moderation of its language and the confessed “wisdom and integrity” of the framers conspired to render invulnerable, was a new source of mortification. Confounded by these mischances, and now fully sensible of their indiscretion in choosing London as the theatre of their operations, the subdued agitators presented a memorial, expressing their abhorrence of the obnoxious tenets, soliciting the release of Talbot, and praying “that as their means were altogether spent, and the supply of their wants obstructed by his majesty’s deputy in Ireland,<sup>b</sup> they might be permitted to

<sup>a</sup> It is given in the first volume of the *Desiderata Curiosa*, with some other valuable papers with which Leland does not appear to have been acquainted.

<sup>b</sup> Recent transactions have prepared us for the meanness of these early delegates, but unhappily, the importance of a little vigour on the part of the executive is without a corresponding illustration. The *Rent* and the Association were put down two centuries ago, by showing those who were willing to resist, *if they dared*, that they would be protected against their priests and demagogues.

return home." This last entreaty completed their exposure and the triumph of the government: they now stood self-convicted, not only of treasonable principles and dishonest intrigues, but of that sordid thirst of pecuniary emolument which the traders in patriotism can never acknowledge with impunity, until they have extinguished public virtue or corrupted the fountains of public opinion. Enough had been done for their humiliation; and as that flippancy of retractation which is so common in modern times was as yet but little known, enough *seemed* to have been done for securing their good behaviour: they were therefore dismissed with undisguised contempt, and a characteristic reprimand from the monarch. Their refuted accusations obtained for the deputy, a peerage, a grant of land, and the personal thanks of his master; and the government, advancing upon the disordered ranks of recusancy, re-assembled the Irish parliament.

The hierarchy was now thrown into one of those critical positions which exhibit the characters, and call out all the powers, of experienced public men. Shame had abated the ardour of the discomfited delegates: the prompt suppression of the Catholic Rent had unnerved the industry of the lawyers; the populace, it was obvious, notwithstanding the arts which had been practised against them, might still be withdrawn from the domestic government, if they were protected by the state and disabused of their dread of persecution; and, what was a still

A. D.  
1613.



A. D.  
1613.

severer blow, the fears of Spain and the remorse or growing inactivity of Tyrone had postponed, perhaps abandoned, the projected invasion. Admonished but not embarrassed by this turn in their affairs, the prelates saw the unseasonableness of open hostility, and accordingly, with an alertness than which nothing is more admirable in the evolutions of party, they veered round into a course of conciliation. The known intention of government to bring in a bill for the attainder of O'Neil and his fellow-exiles, presented to the recusant senators a triple alternative; to continue in secession, to resume their seats with the certainty of making a popular and powerful opposition, or to pass at once to the extreme of obsequious concurrence. The question being referred, as its *spiritual* nature demanded, to the judgment of the bishops, they announced the stern expediency of sacrificing the champions of the Catholic cause: they were obeyed; the bill was brought in *by Everard*, and passed quietly into a law.<sup>a</sup>

So rude a shock to the prejudices they had excited, such a profanation of those sanctities of religion and country with which, during a period of nearly thirty years, they had industriously associated the name of O'Neil, could not have been risked by any but men who had watched the tides of popular passion, and who placed an unbounded reliance in the devices of their own order as well as the proverbial credulity of their countrymen.

<sup>a</sup> We are told by O'Sullivan, that one prelate, the titular of Tuam, dissented on this occasion from his more wily brethren.

A. D.  
1613.

Thus assured, they threw out their seeds of evil upon the wide field of futurity, with a firmness which, in a better cause, might almost be entitled the fulness of faith; yet with all their grounds for confidence, it was one of those daring steps which, in persons who stood—as the prelates did—upon public feeling, are rescued from the charge of temerity chiefly by the knowledge that they have been successful. The success of this measure was indeed complete. It was just such a disclaimer of traitorous designs as a feeble and worried government was unwilling to question; and by allaying the apprehensions of the Protestant landlords, it removed the already yielding barriers from their avarice, and seduced them into the encouragement of a wretched race, which suffers long but remembers for ever. While their concurrence was thus calculated to lull the security of those who were afraid to discover danger, the measure itself, they well knew, would lay up a store of fresh disaster; supplying many with motives to atrocity, more with pretexts, and the apologists<sup>a</sup> of all times with a theme for declamation. In a few years after, when the hierarchy was again laying a train for insurrection, one of its two incentives<sup>b</sup> was

<sup>a</sup> That which, with the bishops of 1614, was the convicted treason of O'Neil, has been, with succeeding bishops, from the titular M'Mahon in 1634 to the titular J. K. L. nearly two centuries after, the tyranny of the English crown, or the sagacity of its officers in devising a profitable rebellion.

<sup>b</sup> The other was the danger of persecution from the Puritans—those *Puritans* with whom it was conspiring to overturn the monarchy.

A. D.  
1613.

derived from those very attainders to which it now gave the support of its<sup>a</sup> hundred senators; and when at length, after many procrastinations, the great rebellion *did* burst forth, the first havoc was made by those men, or their sons, to whom outlawry and confiscation had left nothing but despair.

When the account of these occurrences reached the capital of the Christian world, the sovereign pontiff judged it a suitable occasion for addressing a third bull to his faithful people of Ireland. The chief topics were, as before, unanimity among themselves, and the imitation of their ancestors in an unbending resolution to maintain the Catholic faith: but thanks now mingled with the exhortations of the holy father, and indulgences with his prayers; indulgences, of which the Roman Catholic writers,<sup>b</sup> while they acknowledge their liberality, discreetly abstain from a particular description. So interwoven, in the papal system, are ecclesiastical discipline and political chicane; so great is the temerity of those public men, who undertake, upon the word of a sworn bondsman of the Roman court, to fix that ever fluctuating line which is supposed to divide spiritual from temporal allegiance.

Thenceforward until 1640 the country enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, if prosperity may be

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Burke does not forget to use this *possessive* pronoun; he says that the priests came up to Dublin that they might be on the spot to advise *their* senators.—(*Senatores Suos.*)

<sup>b</sup> The titular bishops Routh and Burke.

A. D.  
1613.

measured by increasing wealth and superficial repose. Security of property, exemption from personal violence and arbitrary exactions, and the wholesome supremacy of law, had at length given a motive to Irish industry; the unimpaired resources of a fertile island presented to every individual of a moderate population an ample choice of profitable employments; and Ireland, so long lettered and so long uncivilized, beheld for the first time the diffusion of peaceful arts, and shot up with the rapidity of a new country. The value of land increased, husbandry was improved, and buildings erected in the English manner: the flattering calm invited English capital, manufactures were introduced, and the linen trade was revived and cherished into luxuriancy.<sup>a</sup> Commerce began to look into the harbours of this unexplored region; the customs were multiplied almost four-fold; the shipping a hundred fold; and, if modern science will admit the inference which would have been suggested in the days of more homely reasoning, the exports were double the amount of the imports.<sup>b</sup> There were even a few appearances,

<sup>a</sup> Lord Strafford expended thirty thousand pounds of his own money in encouraging the linen manufacture. When the Papists and Puritans of the Irish parliament conspired against the life of this great man, they denounced his exertions in favour of the linen trade, as *grievances*.

<sup>b</sup> Were such a comparison to be insisted on with respect to the present trade of Ireland, so much should be deducted from the amount of the exports, as would cover the rental of the absentees. For this portion of its produce, Ireland, notwithstanding the assurances of Dr. McCulloch, receives no commercial equivalent.



A. D.

1613.

which the sanguine explained into promises of blessings of a higher nature ; it seemed as if old animosities were melting into objects of unimpassioned reminiscence, and that, by the assimilative influence of common laws, neighbourly habits, and an interchange of domestic relations, the three races which now occupied the soil were quietly coalescing into one people.<sup>a</sup>

The few political incidents which broke upon the stillness of this period, were neither interesting in themselves, nor, with the exception of the marriage of Charles to a Roman Catholic princess, of any considerable influence upon the great catastrophe. Their chief title to a passing notice is derived from their ominous analogy to recent transactions.

1618. In the administration of St. John, the successor to Chichester, the lure held out by the prelates to the Protestant oligarchy was already beginning to prove attractive. A few of the nobles, men of recent name but formidable power, having been withstood by this governor in an attempt to seize upon some church lands, joined the recusants in a petition to the throne, complaining of viceregal intolerance, and praying for an inquiry into the state of Ireland.<sup>b</sup> The charge was partly founded

At all events, if the means of England are not increased by Irish wealth, they cannot be diminished by Irish pauperism :—if our beggars must be sent home—or to Canada—why not our richer vagrants also ?

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon, *Irish Rebellion*, vi. O'Connor, *Historical Address*, i. 255.

<sup>b</sup> Leland, 2. 462.

A. D.  
1618.

upon some proceedings against the corporation of Waterford, a body which, relying on its ancient charter, maintained a contumelious opposition to the laws ;<sup>a</sup> a second and more specious pretext was afforded by a proclamation against the Jesuits and other regulars. Had the deputy been able or willing to enforce a mandate which he issued in the idle hope of alarming, he would have lightened the burdens of a miserable people, delivered the country from a nuisance which most Roman Catholic states have felt to be intolerable, and perhaps even conciliated the secular priests by the removal of rivals whom they have always feared :—as it was, he only ministered to the purposes of faction. The fears of the Protestant nobles having been once allayed, policy and even sectarian feeling made but a feeble struggle against the pride of manorial despotism, and the tempting difference between an English and an Irish rent. Regardless of the modest wants of the natives, they were more attentive to those imaginary grievances which might be commiserated without expense, and which, being boundless as the faculty in which they resided, were an inexhaustible armoury against obnoxious ministers. Nor

<sup>a</sup> At the accession of James, the recusant citizens of Waterford had indulged in great excesses ; pulling down their recorder from the market cross as he read the proclamation ; forcing into the cathedral and other churches, and causing priests to say mass and preach seditious sermons ; pleading conscience against the acknowledgment of a heretical prince ; and refusing to admit the lord deputy within their walls. A similar spirit marked their subsequent conduct : they would not allow the administration of the oath of supremacy, or admit any but recusants to their municipal offices. St. John threatened to disfranchise the corporation.

A. D.  
1618.

is it improbable, that from the same motives which cherished the people as an inferior race,<sup>a</sup> they were induced to look with mitigated abhorrence upon the priesthood; an order which was admirably qualified to be an instrument of oppression—if it could be brought down to the rank of an instrument,—and whose discipline made abundant provision that the dark mind and abject spirit should preserve a due accordance with the bondage of the body. The priests, on their side, while they availed themselves of the assistance<sup>b</sup> which the blind rapacity of the heretics was thus affording, did not omit to solicit more congenial patronage, to which the timidity of the

<sup>a</sup> “ I heard many of the Irish say,” says the lord deputy Chichester in his Rules for the Government of Ireland, “ that if they became Protestants they dare not live any longer among their own people, for that *the great lords and the priests combine against those that are converted.*” The great lords of our times ought to show more unequivocally than they have yet done, that they are not possessed by the spirit of their predecessors. Another passage in the “ Rules” explains the reason of the prejudice which these liberal lords entertained against proselytism: “ The common people of this country have no property in land, not even for a year. The great lords give no leases or deeds to their tenants, but have them removeable at will; so that their condition is little better than that of the villains formerly was in England; nor can there be any reason why, being such, they should have a desire to build houses, or embrace a more civilized mode of living.” Protestantism, though good enough for a lord, was not sufficiently self-denying for a villain:—The forty shilling freehold system has at least had *one good effect*, in compelling the great to assume some appearance of humanity towards the wretched.

<sup>b</sup> It was the first coalition—and no unsuitable archetype of all the others---between the Protestant landed interest and the papal faction. Equal in insincerity, the parties were ill mated in all other respects: the forethought of the priests was more discerning, their duplicity more profound, their aim more lofty, their spirit more patient; on the side of the aristocracy, rapacity was at once the present impulse, and the predisposing cause.

monarch and his growing anxiety for a Roman Catholic alliance conspired to give importance.

A. D.  
1618.

The cry of persecution, at home feeble and little regarded, was echoed abroad more loudly and with more effect; and extravagant legends,<sup>a</sup> of sufferings which had never been endured and fines which had never been exacted, awakened the sympathies of the continental powers. With the Spanish court, in particular, the hierarchy could not omit

<sup>a</sup> Dr. O'Connor, a Roman Catholic divine, gives the following specimens of the stories which were circulated on the Continent in those days:

"Routh says, that the Irish magistrates of this period employed their time in running from street to street, from town to town, from field to field, to find out papists. And yet this silly scribbler asserts that, at the same time, immense sums were levied, in fines for refusing to attend church, upon those very persons whom it was so difficult to discover. Thus he states, that the fines *in one term* amounted, *in the small county* of Cavan alone, to *eight thousand guineas*."

"O'Sullivan declares that St. John levied *six hundred thousand pounds* in hard cash from Irish priests, as fines for not attending on Sundays in the Protestant churches:—and yet six hundred thousand pounds exceeded the annual income of the whole kingdom. He also says that the same viceroy imprisoned ninety citizens of Dublin *for denying the king's supremacy*."

"Burke and Porter relate how one of the privy council, whose name they do not mention, *boasted* that all his plate was composed of chalices. They gravely add that a Protestant bishop converted a priest's vestment into a pair of breeches—'but behold, he had scarcely put on these breeches when they caught fire, and he was burned to death.' Such were the stories by which the Irish rabble were excited to the rebellion of 1641." *Historical Address*, i. 261.

O'Connor, however, does not select the most atrocious falsehoods. For instance, he does not quote what Burke and O'Daly tell of Sir Arthur Chichester, "that he poisoned the earl of Kildare, a catholic in heart, though an outward conformist, at his own table at Dublin Castle, in revenge for the freedom with which the earl pleaded the cause of his country."



A. D.  
1618.

so favorable an opportunity of renewing its correspondence. "Oppressed though we be and full of disquiet," said the prelates in their memorial, "we are yet raised to some hope of comfort and protection, when we look to that glorious diadem from which both we and our fathers have derived solace in affliction and shelter in the storm. For ourselves we could suffer in silence; but we fear to fall under the rebuke of the prophet if we cry not aloud for the danger which threateneth our flock. Considering, therefore, that pastoral care and office with which we are charged, we announce to the pious, propitious, and most Catholic king of the Spains, that the Catholic people and religion in this kingdom of Ireland do suffer grievous persecution."<sup>a</sup>

1622. St. John, yielding to domestic and foreign intrigue, was replaced by Falkland. This amiable nobleman, the husband of a Roman Catholic lady, and a man of mild manners and benevolent temper ill qualified to struggle against the bias of those around him, was, for nine years, condemned to deprecate the insolence of a faction, which conciliation has always pampered and nothing but terror has been able to restrain.<sup>b</sup> The recusant

<sup>a</sup> Burke, *Hib. Dom.* 636.

<sup>b</sup> Cox has discovered somewhere a curious Leonine verse,

Ungentem pungit, pungentem Hibernicus ungit.

Applied to the nation at large, the rhyme is a silly libel; limited to those who have, from time to time, usurped the management of "Catholic affairs," it deserves the attention of our most classical statesmen.

lords of the pale were admitted to the privy council, a body which, according to the Irish constitution as fixed by Poyning's law, was virtually invested with the legislative authority. The lawyers and wards in chancery <sup>a</sup> were formally exempted from the oath of supremacy, and a new test, from which all that offended the pope or gave a reasonable pledge of fidelity to the crown, had been carefully excluded,<sup>b</sup> was appointed by proclamation. The

A. D.  
1622.

<sup>a</sup> The statute of 2. Elizabeth required the oath of supremacy from wards upon being admitted to their estates; but it was either universally dispensed with or universally taken, for, in a period of more than sixty years, we do not read of one case of forfeiture.

<sup>b</sup> This formulary may be seen in Cox. Insignificant as it was, the Pope made some difficulty about allowing it in England, as we learn from bishop Berrington in the following account of a conference between secretary Windebank and the papal nuncio Panzani. "First, he acquaints the secretary with the occasion of his coming over, namely, to pay a compliment to the queen from the Roman See; and incidentally, as occasion served, he was at liberty to regulate the concerns of an oath of allegiance; but having no express commission on this latter point, he would be directed as his holiness and the king of Great Britain should agree. He further assured the secretary, that both the Pope and cardinal Barberini were disposed to give his majesty all the content imaginable, as they omitted not to signify on every occasion; adding that if his Catholic subjects did not behave themselves with the utmost respect to his majesty, in *all civil matters*, it was contrary to the knowledge and desire of his holiness, and that, on failure of their duty, they ought to be made sensible of it as the law directed. Windebank expressed himself well pleased with this discourse, and said that his majesty had always expressed the great respect he had for Urban the Eighth; he added, by way of advice, that he thought it would be the part of prudence in his holiness to recal or moderate the briefs that had been issued against such as had taken king James's oath of allegiance. To this, Panzani replied, that he had no authority to pronounce upon that affair, but it was his opinion that nothing would be altered in the brief, unless the government would agree to make the oath

A. D.  
1622.

priests, flushed with the triumph of their party, and basking in the unwonted sunshine of a court, betrayed their impatience of heretical ascendancy ; and the reformed hierarchy, supposing itself “ deserted by its natural protectors,”<sup>a</sup> began to lose its dignity in its fears.

more agreeable to the See of Rome. Windebank insisted, that several Roman Catholics admitted the oath might be taken with the King’s comment, which restrained the sense to civil allegiance. ‘ This,’ said Panzani, ‘ may be the opinion of some of the party ; but in things of this nature, men are to act in concert and govern themselves by a uniform practice. All I can say is, that I know it is the Pope’s pleasure that the Catholics shall answer all the demands of civil allegiance ;’ on this Windebank replied : ‘ Then let the Pope draw up a form of oath and send it hither.’ Panzani promised to write to Rome about the matter, and gave the secretary some encouragement that the design might have its desired effect, for that very lately an affair of the same nature was carrying on in Ireland. The Irish Catholics having refused king James’s oath, king Charles proposed to them another of a softer nature ; but this was also quarrelled with as bearing still too hard upon the Pope’s spiritual power. However, Panzani judged it proper to send the form of the Irish oath to Rome, as a model for England. —He was much blamed for his officiousness : Barberini told him that he had exceeded his commission, and that the oath was too tender a subject to be treated at that time.” *Memoirs of Panzani*, 143. If this account, concurring as it does with so many others, be a fair representation of the papal policy, it forces our attention to the following points. 1. That when political circumstances shall render it expedient, *it is the Pope’s pleasure* that Roman Catholics shall answer to a certain extent, the demands of civil allegiance to a Protestant prince. 2. That *the Pope himself is the judge* of the expediency, as to time, place, and circumstances ; of the extent of allegiance due ; and of the line which separates things spiritual and things temporal. 3. That no test can be taken without the Pope’s permission. 4. That whatever opinions Roman Catholics may privately entertain, *they are to act in concert*, and govern themselves by a uniform practice, not following their own sense of what is right, but the decree of the Pontiff.

<sup>a</sup> The exaggerated terms, in which J. K. L. describes the condition of the objects of *his* impatience.

The powerful mind of Wentworth made a great and almost successful effort for the salvation of the country. With a deep insight into the causes of Irish calamity, with considerable address and undaunted resolution ; with a spirit inaccessible to all factious or fanatical impulses, and an impartiality the result at once of native benevolence and principled austerity ; this great man, while he opposed himself to the wishes of every party, laboured indefatigably for the common welfare. Devotion to a master who was not worthy of such a servant, compassionate mercy towards the mass of the people, and severity to the local despots, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, who had not yet learned to acknowledge either authority above them or liberty below, were the uniform characters of his arduous administration. His lofty vindication of royal prerogative, uncalled for and unconstitutional as it would have been in other circumstances, was necessary to confront the arrogance of colonial despotism. Having before him the alternative of being despised if he yielded, and being hated if he withstood, he chose the latter ; and although, when his reverses came, the rival factions suspended their mutual animosities to conspire for his destruction, while he stood, they were overawed by his superior genius.—With the priests alone, Strafford was compelled to adopt a temporizing policy. His penetration had sounded their character, his vigilant activity discovered their devices, but they were now under the protection of a superior power ; he

A. D.

1632.



A. D.  
1632.

might punish outrage, but he could not prevent intrigue. His unfortunate master, with a papal envoy at his court, a popish minister in his cabinet, a popish wife in his bosom, and that fatal passion for diplomatic finesse, which was continually luring him within the meshes of the Vatican, could not tolerate active measures against the workers of his ruin. Strafford was therefore limited to expedients, of which he saw the futility and felt the humiliation: the vigorous and even imperious governor, who had broken a haughty senate to the language of adulation, was obliged to solicit the Pope's agent that he would be "pleased to restrain his monks *for the present*," or, if that was too much, that he would induce the continental courts "to give a deafer ear to their clamours."<sup>a</sup>

The views of the hierarchy at this period, and the principles inculcated upon the inferior priesthood, have been detailed for us by two eminent members of those orders, both deeply engaged in the transactions which they describe, the one, warm in his approbation, the other, reluctant and unsteady in his censure.—Father Peter Walsh, the very learned and candid Franciscan, has diffused his account of the received school divinity over so many folio pages,<sup>b</sup> that abridgment is indispensable. The sum of his statement is briefly as follows: That the advancement of Christ's kingdom, that is, of the papal church, being the

<sup>a</sup> *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. 2. p. 111.

<sup>b</sup> Of his *History of the Irish Remonstrance*.

A. D.  
1632.

great consummation of the divine will and the end of human existence, all particular laws, of God, of nature, or of civil society, must be regulated by it: That therefore, actions otherwise criminal, such as perjury, treason, or murder, may, by a new relation to this supreme law, change their moral character: That heresy, being directly subversive of Christ's kingdom, is an infamous crime, which annihilates all rights and is sufficient to exclude men from all civilized communion: That the Pope is the supreme authority both in spiritual and temporal things, having the power of both swords, particularly in countries where the civil sovereignty has lapsed by heresy: That the clergy being the immediate servants of the Pope, are exempt, both in person and property, from the jurisdiction of secular tribunals. These and similar dogmas, "contrary," says Walsh, "to the letter, sense, and design of the Gospel, to the writings of the apostles and the commentaries of their successors, to the belief of the church for ten ages, and moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature," were universally taught in those seminaries at which the Irish ecclesiastics then received their education. In their transmission from the priests to a generous, excitable, and fondly national people, they acquired fresh cogency from the assurance that the sovereign pontiff had a peculiar tenderness for Ireland, the island of saints, a country selected by a special providence to be the ark of the true religion.

A. D.  
1632.

David Routh, titular bishop of Ossory, was perhaps the most learned as well as the most temperate prelate whom the Irish branch of the papacy has ever produced. A great Protestant cotemporary has made honorable mention of his erudition:<sup>a</sup> his moderation is proved by the fact that, in the great rebellion, he braved the anathemas of Rinuccini and wrote strenuously against the violation of the peace with Ormond; nor is it a trifling testimony in his favour, that a divine<sup>b</sup> whose sober opinions have been visited with episcopal censure both in England and Ireland, proposes Routh as a model for the hierarchy of the present day. His work may therefore be regarded as a very mitigated exposition of the sentiments of his order: it is entitled *Analecta Sacra Hiberniæ*; and its curious apparatus of *two* dedications, the one, specious and respectful, to Charles the First, then prince of Wales, the other, an appeal or counter address, to the Emperor, and the Catholic kings and princes of Christendom, is a lively and intelligible symbol of double policy.—The following are extracts:

1. PAPAL ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE  
REFORMATION.

“From the time that this island became subject unto Christ, its commonweal consisted of two

<sup>a</sup> Archbishop Ussher, in his *Primordia Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. O’Conor, in several passages of his *Historical Address* and *Letters of Columbanus*.

A. D.  
1632.

parts, the one spiritual, the other carnal, even as man himself is composed of soul and body. But *ever since the introduction of the English arms, there hath been an inveterate altercation between these two;* so that, as it were by some stern decree of fate, strife and enmity have always subsisted between the civil governors and those holy men the bishops and pastors of the church. The conquerors, although they had obtained admission under a solemn covenant that they would exalt the church, oppressed it even from the very commencement, and invaded its sacred discipline, to the grief and indignation of Saint Lawrence O'Toole, and of his venerable successor John Cummin. Of the former, it is set forth by Gerald Barry, 'how he was hateful to the king and obedient to the holy chair, and how he complained to the pontiff of the injuries done to a faithful people, tributary and devoted to the see of Rome : ' and of the latter, 'how, through the zeal of his justice and according to the duty of his office and ministry, he would have highly exalted the church in Ireland, had not sword been opposed by sword, the priesthood by the crown, virtue by envy ; for as the flesh lusteth against the spirit, so do those who are carnal afflict those who are spiritual, and the ministers of Cæsar make unceasing war upon the soldiers of Christ.' Furthermore, we are told by the same Sylvester<sup>a</sup> 'how he saw, in a vision, the king's son John marking out upon a green plain the plan of

<sup>a</sup> i. e. *Barre*. Routh translates the Norman name of his authority into the language in which he was writing.



A. D.  
1632.



a church, and assigning to the laity an ample and commodious space, but to the priesthood something mean, narrow, and unseemly.' Thus far he, an eye witness; to whose words I shall add nothing as they sufficiently declare the evils of those days.—But as years revolved, they brought continually some new aggravation to the wrongs of the church. Hence it was that in the reign of Edward II. the Irish people complained bitterly to the chair of Peter; and so accordingly did Pope John XXII. reprove that prince sharply, as appeareth from his apostolical letter, in which these words are contained :—'Whereas our predecessor, Adrian IV. of holy memory, did by his letters apostolic confer the dominion of Ireland upon your progenitor, Henry II. of renowned memory, in a certain manner and form; and whereas neither that king nor his successors, unto this time, have observed that manner and form, but have oppressed the people with great and unheard of afflictions; therefore, being unable to endure such injuries, they have been constrained to withdraw themselves from your dominion, and invite another to have authority over them.'—Now it provoked the English princes that complaints of such grievances should be multiplied to the see of Peter; although from that see their power in Ireland was at first derived, and thence made to descend in hereditary succession, resting ever upon the same conditions upon which the donation had been made at the beginning. *Many were the*

*struggles, bitter the conflicts, great the strife and contention, between the two powers ; and many a politic device was used in labouring to effect a reconciliation. But it appeared to them impossible to preserve peace so long as an appeal lay open to the apostolic see ; and this indeed is sufficiently apparent, from the covenant with Henry and his son John, and from the letters to Edward and to other kings, who had many quarrels with the clergy, for the settlement of which it was necessary to have recourse to the sovereign pontiff. At length by a new invention a new remedy was applied, and a barrier raised for the keeping in of those petitions which were wont to make their way to Rome. It was resolved to unite the tiara of ecclesiastical power with the secular diadem ; so that all authority, sacred and profane, divine and human, being centered in one person, there should in future be no variance between the two members of the body politic. From this portentous and obscene device did proceed that anarchy of lay supremacy, which, from the schism until this time, hath kept in bondage the realms of the Britannic Isles : its seminal principle was the oppression of the clergy, which, swelling gradually through many ages, at the last produced that monster, of which we now experience the misgovernment, as we behold its deformity.<sup>a</sup>—Thus the mystery of iniquity hath*

A. D.  
1632.

<sup>a</sup> The original is stronger : *Seminalis ratio, per tot sæcula ex injustâ cleri oppressione protuberans et suscepta in utero Junoniæ libidinis, procreavit tandem hoc immane monstrum, &c.*

A. D.  
1632.

prevailed in the holy place, and in this island of the saints, the man of sin whom the apostle hath described in his second epistle to the Thesalonians, hath usurped the holy symbols of spiritual jurisdiction."

## 2. FORFEITURE OF THE KING'S TITLE BY THE SCHISM.

"I appeal to the faith pledged by Henry II., when he received authority from the pontiff Adrian to occupy this island. It was then provided by a solemn treaty, that the rights of the Church should remain inviolate, that a yearly tribute should be paid to the see apostolic, and above all, that the Catholic faith and discipline should be propagated:—it was the design of the pontiff of the supreme see, when by a solemn contract and upon certain stipulations he gave up the dominion of his island to a prince of his own faith, that the seeds of all the virtues, and more especially of religion and the true worship of God, should be cherished here. In transferring the sovereignty of a country, which piety had at the first made tributary to his chair, and of which constant allegiance had ratified the subjection, he required such terms as corresponded to this design; and the prince who received the government, lived and died obedient to the see and faith of Rome. By such convention, upon clear and covenanted conditions, was the authority over Ireland solemnly conferred. If, then, the successors of him who received that authority, either beguiled by fraud, or perverted by malice,

A. D.  
1632.

or forgetful of their contract, or ungrateful to the holy see, depart from their plighted faith, and violate the sacredness of a royal promise; if such be the case—it is not my part to say that they have forfeited the right they had acquired, for that province pertaineth more unto lawyers—but the fact is known to all Christian people.—If, under the second Henry, this our island was given over to temporal bondage, under the eighth of that name it was subjected to a more degrading slavery, and hath groaned for these many years under the yoke of iniquity. As the former took away human liberty, so hath the latter bereft us of divine: the one rendered us the slaves of men, the other of devils; as far as could be effected by the devices of man and by the rulers of this world, who endeavour to bring us into bondage to the powers of darkness.”

### 3. HOPES OF RE-ESTABLISHMENT.

The bishop, obtruding, as is the custom of his order, with irreverent familiarity into the most mysterious things, compares himself to Elijah;—“when the Lord came to him and said, ‘what dost thou here Elijah;’ and he said, ‘I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, and thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only, am left, and they seek my life to take it away.” He then relates the vision of the prophet, and applies it to



A. D.  
1632.

the condition and prospects of his church.—The vision—“Behold the Lord passed by. First, a great and strong whirl windrent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks, but the Lord was not in the whirlwind; after the whirlwind came an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake came a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a small still voice; and it was so that when Elijah heard the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle.”—The application.—“First, in the beginning of the days of Elizabeth, there went before the Lord God a great and mighty wind in the person of that famous chief John O’Neil, who, like a raging storm, laid waste all things, sparing neither rocks nor mountains. He, though he had joined unto himself captains from Munster and from Connaught, and desired to be esteemed as the restorer of the liberty of his country and the religion of his fathers, yet did he fail in reverence for the clergy. Having destroyed a part of the cathedral of Armagh, and thereby incurred the indignation of the archbishop, Richard Creagh, a zealous assertor of ecclesiastical privileges, he ceased to be of the number of those by whom salvation should be wrought unto Israel, and as he sowed the wind, so he reaped the whirlwind. Secondly, there came the earthquake, the great commotion which the Geraldines raised in Munster, and which was aided in Leinster by the Cavanaghs, the lord of Baltinglass and other nobles of that province. To

A. D.  
1632.

the pious princes of foreign countries this appeared to be the cause of God; and as they considered it to be a war for the faith, they sent over aids of men and arms. But their endeavours were in vain, because of the transgression of the time, God having decreed not to give that good effect to the arms of warriors which he had reserved for another season, to be accomplished by other means and instruments. To this earthquake of the Geraldines succeeded the fire of Tyrone's insurrection, destroying far and wide for the space of ten years. The labours of this general appeared to prosper: he was victorious in several engagements; he maintained the righteous cause of restoring religion; and would not make peace with the English, unless the orthodox faith were publicly established through the entire kingdom. But this mighty power was not exercised according to the effectual purpose of God, whose counsels are impenetrable and his judgments as the great abyss; therefore was the strength of man put forth in vain, and so this illustrious earl hath departed to answer to God for the deeds done in the body and to receive his deserved reward. Since, therefore, neither in the whirlwind, nor in the earthquake, nor yet in the fire, hath the Lord come to the refreshment and consolation of this land, and as we cannot doubt that at length it will have rest from its tribulations, it remains that we consider what is that still small voice for whose soft and auspicious breathings we are to wait. There is spread around us on every side a joyous rumour

A. D.  
1632.

of a marriage between the heir of Britain and a daughter of France or Spain. Who, that hath meditated on the blessings which arose from the union of Philip and Mary, can doubt that if this marriage be now celebrated, on meet conditions, and with the consent of the apostolic see, we should receive the sure and stable redress of our grievances, and every other benefit in addition.—Thou Almighty Ruler of the world, from whom all power and dominion do proceed, of whose church kings are ordained to be the nursing fathers and queens the nursing mothers, who dost order the light to shine forth out of darkness,—arise thou bright and morning star, enlighten the hearts of the king and his family, inspire them with wise and salutary counsel, that they may see the true and only faith which Christ hath delivered to us.”

#### 4. CLAIMS TO THE EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

“Thus, in this most afflicted kingdom of Ireland, hath God preserved the seeds of that pure and divine religion which it received from the ministry of the Roman Church, so that all may perceive how it might flourish in earthly peace and prosperity, *if the sons of God* (i. e. the priests) were permitted so to instruct the children of men (i. e. the people,) that while they especially loved the tents of Israel they yet should not despise the tabernacles of Jacob. And since the authority of the teachers is the great attraction to learning and good disci-

A. D.  
1632.

pline, it appeareth that no more effective education can be devised for bringing this people unto all civil duties and the rules of government and society, than to place them, according to their own choice and affection, in the hands of the Catholic priesthood.—No more expedient course can be devised for subduing this nation, and keeping it firmly in due allegiance, than to have the people instructed by those teachers whose good will to them is beyond suspicion, whose devotion to God and *fidelity to the King* are also well known. By such a mode of government they will be more inclined to obedience than by armed soldiers or sanguinary edicts of parliament. Our rustics themselves declare that they are deterred from murder, revenge, robbery, or other violence, more by the censures of the priest than the sentence of the secular judge; that they are more afraid of an ecclesiastical interdict than a royal proclamation, of suspension from the rites of the church than of imprisonment or hanging. If then, we were allowed to exercise those powers which the sacred councils and canons<sup>a</sup> do grant us, against rebellious and seditious folk, we should use all

<sup>a</sup> The bishop refers to the canons, as well for the prerogatives and immunities of his own order, as for the means of coercing the people. Thus, in his account of a bishop who was apprehended and brought to trial for having aided in O'Neil's rebellion, he says, "A son of Belial appeared against the anointed of the Lord, and charged him with having been in a certain castle with Hugh O'Neil.—I cannot now enlarge upon the difference between a secular court and a court ecclesiastical, upon the privileges of the person accused and the incompetency of his judge,



A. D.  
1632.

diligence that they were vigorously executed:—if not, we will permit that the offender be punished by the civil magistrate.”

These passages, it will be observed, appear in an address to the heir apparent, from the Secretary, and most moderate member, of the papal hierarchy. For the first time since the reformation, the bishops were now making advances which they intended to be conciliatory; they had almost become candidates for the praise of loyalty, and endeavoured to soften down their habitual defiance into the soothing tones of courtly gratulation. Their language in such circumstances must be regarded with some interest; to those, in particular, who see nothing in popery but celibacy, a wafer, and the use of the Latin language, it is calculated to afford useful though perplexing information. It appears then, that the prelates of the most fanatical period which has ever convulsed this unhappy country, did not condescend to mention ritual or dogmatical innovations,<sup>a</sup> amongst the grounds

upon the decrees of pontiffs and the authority of the sacred canons, upon rights which the martyr of Canterbury maintained even unto death against the municipal law of England and the constitutions of Clarendon; for now law hath conspired with iniquity, and the weakness of man hath yielded to unjust statutes, so that things of holy institution are submitted to the sentence of a profane judge.”

<sup>a</sup> If we may judge from English history, the comparative value which Rome sets upon power, and upon *religious* unity, can be easily ascertained. The great quarrel with Henry was a contest for jurisdiction, the rival parties being fully agreed upon all doctrinal and ritual questions. Pius the Fifth, a canonized authority, offered Elizabeth her own terms as to a liturgy and the internal

of their discontent or the questions at issue between their order and the civil government. Popery, in their estimation, was a Gordian knot which fastened the State to the footstool of the Church; Henry the Eighth had cut asunder what his more timid predecessors sought to loosen or untie; and the avowed grievance of Routh and his brethren was the failure of those schemes of secular dominion, to which the forms and fictions of their religious system were but subservient and instru-

A. D.  
1632.

discipline of the Church, provided she acknowledged his accommodating supremacy. Fifty years after, a similar temptation was held out, by the *resident* Nuncio Panzani, to Laud and his unfortunate master; and father Davenport undertook to show how a man might be a true son of the Church of Rome, though he subscribed the articles of the Church of England. In the reign of James the Second, the stratagem was tried again: Bossuet, Gother, and others, drew their portraits of Popery, and public men amused themselves in tracing family likenesses—*facies, quales decet esse sororum*. Thus we see that it did not require all the intrepidity which Dr. Doyle possesses, to declare, as he did in his letter to Mr. Robertson, that the questions at issue between the churches were little more than verbal disputes, which might be easily explained away, if England would consent to a *re-union*. These matters, contemptible in themselves, are interesting from their political coincidences:—all the great manifestations of liberality on the papal side have, except the last, been followed by some national convulsion. The amicable overtures of Pius introduced the more vigorous measures of the Desmonds and the O'Neils; the negociations of Panzani led the way to the great rebellion; and the bland exposition of Bossuet was the precursor of those aggressions which drove Protestants to the fearful redress of a revolution. It is a fact too, however unconnected with the foregoing, that the memorable scenes of 1798 had been preceded by some liberal symptoms from Dr. Troy. Whether a storm is, or is not, destined to follow those gleams of conciliation which have lately dazzled so many, is a question to be answered only by time, the sure though tardy interpreter of all omens.

A. D.

1632.

mental. *From the beginning*, say these churchmen in their arrogant candour, *sword contended against sword*, the “soldiers of Christ” maintained their spiritual warfare against the “ministers of Cæsar”; and the tardy change of doctrines and ceremonies only gave a new name to the inveterate altercation. The political constitution to which alone they can give the title of legitimate, must be formed upon the model of regenerated human nature : *the flesh subdued to the spirit* ; the grosser element of the civil power restrained to a subordinate sphere of action ; and the pure essence of their own order invested with an imperial ascendancy, suited to its native dignity, and necessary for the accomplishment of the sublime ends of its institution. The holy island, to be truly emancipated, must repose under the tutelage of the sovereign pontiff : the people, devoted above all things to the church, would *then*, at her command, pay a chearful respect to the secular magistrate ; and the prince, absolved from curse, and restored to the affections of a generous nation, would shine forth in the placid lustre of reflected sovereignty. Of the means by which this consummation was to be achieved, the prelates judged with unscrupulous liberality : an earthquake, a conflagration, or a gentle voice ; rebellion or invasion, parliamentary intrigue, or the softer arts of female blandishment ; all were entitled to their impartial benediction, in proportion as they might contribute to the exaltation of the church. Such were the views

of Routh and his cotemporaries. Unaffected by the varieties of private character and the vicissitudes of four hundred and fifty years, the spirit of Laurence had descended with his office, informing and assimilating the successive members of the order, imparting a singleness and intensity of purpose, which almost arrested the course of nature and consolidated the fleeting train into one permanent body.

A. D.  
1632.

Experience having soon dissipated the hopes which had been raised by the marriage of Charles, the bishops returned to their former devices.— They had now, to the exclusion of all but their dependents the lawyers, effectually occupied the vacant tyranny over the multitude; and among those of better quality, their two classes of instruments were daily becoming more tractable in their skilful hands. Those of the ancient race, fiery, vindictive, and unreflecting, prodigal of life, having nothing else to lose, and brooding over grievances of which it was idle to expect the redress by political intrigue, waited, with a patience which discipline only could inspire, for the signal that was to send them upon their sanguinary course. The more crafty genius of the gentry of the Pale, and the proverbial coolness of the legal profession, of which many of them were members, served at once to temper the impetuosity of the Irish, and to prepare for the successful exercise of their valour. Unwarlike themselves, these persons were, perhaps, the most effectual in promoting the ruthless designs



A. D.  
1632.

of the hierarchy: their discontent had gradually soured into disaffection, and the skill and boldness of their inveterate opposition confounded the loyal, while it inflamed the turbulent to the requisite degree of fever. The influence of time, of confidential intercourse, and common objects of detestation,<sup>a</sup> in allaying the mutual jealousies of the two races, was judiciously aided by other expedients. Their sons were sent to the continental colleges, to be educated under the inspection of prudent ecclesiastics<sup>b</sup>: the youths met as countrymen; all irritating associations being dispelled or mellowed by distance, the feelings which belong to early years had their full natural effect, and friendship was consecrated by an infusion of religious zeal. Thus trained, they were prepared on their return to be introduced to the “Irish Union,”

<sup>a</sup> The recent colonists. “The first and principal cause,” says the author of *The Present State of Ireland*, anno 1614, “of the late union between the Irish and the old English of the pale, is the plantation of new English and Scotch in all parts of the kingdom, whom, with an unanimous consent, the natives repute as a common enemy. For this cause, though they endeavour to disguise it, covering the same under the pretext of religion, the slaughters and rivers of blood between them are forgotten, and the intrusions made by themselves or their ancestors on both sides, for title of land, are remitted.” As the Milesians had lost their acres, so the Anglo-Irish had lost their cherished title of *Englishmen*, and the monopoly of place and power with which it was accompanied,—to the new adventurers.

<sup>b</sup> This practice was of recent origin. We are told by a writer of the year 1614, (in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1, 418,) that Sir Patrick Barnwall, who had just risen to a seditious notoriety, was the “first person of quality that had ever been sent out of Ireland to be brought up in learning beyond the seas,”

A. D.  
1632.

a secret society which had been instituted by Routh, himself a member of an Anglo-Irish family, for the purpose of abolishing the distinction of blood, and diffusing the charities of a seditious patriotism. Branches of this society were propagated abroad among the Irish *of the dispersion*, to whose ruin the provident prelates had actively contributed, and who maintained, through the priesthood, a continual correspondence with their kinsmen at home.<sup>a</sup> Spain, though severed from the empire, and wasted by decay and dissension in all her provinces, had her favourite motives—bigotry and preposterous pretension—for encouraging this conspiracy: the Pope, while he cajoled the uxorious Charles with assurances of his great affection, fomented the intrigue with unabated vigour; and the French cabinet was too full of ambitious projects and the fear of a natural enemy, to respect the accidental alliance of the crowns. The agents of Cardinal Richlieu co-operated with the prelates in cementing the new brotherhood of United Irishmen<sup>b</sup>; and that wily minister himself told the Irish at Paris that “their countrymen would be only a rope of sand,” unless, in imitation of the confederacy of the Guises, they formed a Holy League against

<sup>a</sup> “It is certain,” writes Strafford, in 1637, “that the Irish abroad do hold, by means of the Pope’s clergy, continual intelligence with the mere Irish at home.”

<sup>b</sup> A curious anticipation of the negotiations of 1792. Wolfe Tone maintained a simultaneous correspondence with the French directory, the titular bishops of Munster, and the liberalists of Belfast.

A. D.  
1634.

the Hugonots of England. The mine was now prepared ; it remained only for the master artists to choose the season for an explosion,—an explosion that was to shake Ireland for half a century. We are informed by Heber M'Mahon,<sup>a</sup> a sturdy ecclesiastic, active in the preparations, and afterwards in the work, of death, that the year 1628 was first determined on, and that a general rising of the rebels at home was to be supported by a joint invasion of the emigrants and the French. But the unexpected protraction of the war in Italy engrossed the attention of Richlieu ; the conspirators drew back into vigilant quiescence, and those whom heaven had made responsible for the safety of Ireland, slept on in fatal security. In 1634 the design was revived, and again defeated by some accidental occurrence.<sup>b</sup> After this second adjournment of the enterprize, M'Mahon, hoping perhaps to purchase the confidence of Strafford by a show of loyal contrition, revealed the abortive plot, with many expressions of penitence, to a member of the privy council.<sup>c</sup> To us, judging at the distance of

<sup>a</sup> Or rather by Lord Mac Guire upon the authority of Mac Mahon. See Mac Guire's *Confession in the Tower*. Borlase, History of Rebellion, 35.

<sup>b</sup> Borlase, 2.

<sup>c</sup> Strafford was not imposed on; but a much more palpable artifice has been tried with great success at a later period. The Morning Chronicle of May 2, 1825, quotes the following article from the Etoile. "Among the answers which the bishop of Kildare, Dr. Doyle, has given with so much candour and frankness to the questions of the committee, is found a historical exposition of the highest interest. It was not known before, that until the death

two centuries, and by the imperfect light which history throws upon Irish affairs, this tardy disclosure may appear a weak refinement of duplicity ; but the Vatican, seldom deceived in its estimate of character, raised M'Mahon to the bishopric of Clogher, a station of great trust and almost absolute authority, in the centre of the most desperate and daring malcontents.

A. D.  
1634.

Since the accession of the house of Stuart, six incipient or meditated rebellions <sup>a</sup> had now been frustrated, chiefly by the failure of promised succours from the continent. A generation of conspirators had passed away, and the sons <sup>b</sup> had succeeded to the baffled hopes and undrawn swords of their fathers ; but the hierarchy had imparted to the holy league a portion of its own unchanging spirit, and the unrelaxed purpose and undecayed organization exhibited no vestiges of the progress of time.

of the last of the Stuarts, the Pretender had always nominated to the vacant sees in Ireland. The English government, with all its gold, had never been able to get at this secret ; and when we reflect that it was in the keeping of perhaps ten thousand individuals, so admirable an example of guarded fidelity towards the legitimate sovereign recalls to recollection that the only general of Maria Theresa, whom the king of Prussia despaired of corrupting, was an Irishman."—As long as the secret could be of any use to England, all her gold could not obtain possession of it ; when it had sunk into a matter of antiquarian curiosity, it was laid out to advantage in the purchase of "golden opinions." Were the admirable secresy of the *ten thousand* and the equally admirable frankness of the *one*, opposite qualities, or merely opposite aspects of the same principled fidelity to a common cause ?

<sup>a</sup> In 1605, 1607, 1613, 1615, 1628, and 1634.

<sup>b</sup> The emigrants were to have been led, in 1628, and again in 1634, by the son of Hugh O'Neil. Mac Guire's *Confession*.



A. D.  
1637.

At length, the growing discontents in England, the storm which was evidently gathering among the Scotch, and the divisions which puritanism and the selfishness of the aristocracy had sown among the Irish Protestants, attracted the observation of the prelates and the other leaders. Justly concluding that internal discord would be as effectual an auxiliary as a foreign force, they began in their several departments to prepare for active measures. The military chiefs, no longer in want of men, solicited their continental friends for a supply of arms ;<sup>a</sup> the senators, about equal in number to those who had sat in James's parliament,<sup>b</sup> cultivated an understanding with their puritanical brethren ; and the bishops obtained from Rome the deadly prerogative of secret excommunication. According to strict ecclesiastical rule, the denunciation of an anathema has the solemn publicity of a judicial sentence : the spirited vigilance of Strafford, the

<sup>a</sup> "The Irish believe themselves so strong that they desire nothing of Spain but to furnish them with arms for 12,000 men ; all the rest they will be able to do of themselves." *Stafford's Letters*. 2, 111.

<sup>b</sup> The general election in 1634 was marked by a repetition of those scenes which had been exhibited in 1613. "Popish Jesuits," says Strafford, "are very busy in the election of knights and burgesses ; they call the people to their masses, and there charge them *on pain of excommunication* to give their votes to no Protestant. I therefore purpose to question some of them ; it being indeed a very insufferable thing for them thus to interfere in causes purely civil, and it is of passing ill consequence in warming and inflaming his Majesty's subjects one against another, and in the last report, to bring it to a direct party of Papist and Protestant."

most arbitrary governor whom Ireland has ever had, was just able to prevent the observance of these outward formalities; and the prelates, on their part, had the address and resolution to obtain an encrease of the substantial power. "If," says the decree of the congregation de propagandâ fide, "there be danger of a prosecution before the secular magistrate, the bishop may pass sentence, without a written form, and in the presence of any two witnesses."<sup>a</sup> This ample dispensation provided at once for the tyranny and the security of the church: the culprit, ignorant of his danger and, perhaps, unconscious of guilt, was dispatched by a species of spiritual assassination; the intelligence of his fate was disseminated in whispers; while the absence of written evidence and the fidelity of the chosen witnesses enabled the perpetrator to defy the civil authorities. If ever there

A. D.  
1637.

<sup>a</sup> The brevity and importance of this decree justify its insertion in full. It is given by bishop Burke in the following words and form:

#### DECRETUM

*Sacræ Congregationis De Propagandâ Fide.*

*Habitæ 30 Januarii, 1638.*

REFERENTE Eminentissimo Cardinale Pamphilio, Sacra Congregatio censuit, si Sanctissimo placuerit, concedendam esse Facultatem archiepiscopis et episcopis Hiberniæ, ut possint, sine scriptis, coram tamen duobus testibus proferre sententiam excommunicationis contra contumaces et inobedientes, si periculum sit, ne ab eis apud magistratus sæculares accusentur.

EODEM Die Sanctissimus Dominus noster Decretum Sacræ Congregationis approbavit, cum hac conditione, ut prædicti Prælati probationes contra Reos penès se retineant, et conservent.

ANTONIUS CARDINALIS BARBERINUS PRÆFECTUS.

A. D.  
1637.



was a weapon in the hands of men, that deserved to be called Satanic, it is this papal sword of secret excommunication ; which, by one invisible and inevitable stroke, cuts off its victims from the charities of the present life and the hopes of the life to come. Wielded at such a crisis, and by beings who had little in common with humanity—but that gloomy ambition, which yet seems to be less a natural vice than an infusion from the author of the first rebellion on record—its mysterious terrors may exercise our conjectures, but they elude calculation. Of this, however, we may be sure, that it assisted powerfully in subduing the timid ; in controlling the more resolute ; in reducing those conscientious Roman Catholics who endeavoured to separate religion from the schemes of its ministers, to a silent neutrality, suspicious in the eyes of government and humiliating in their own ; and in driving the awe-stricken multitude to propitiate, by any sacrifice, that evil principle, from which their better instincts recoiled with abhorrence.

The talents of Strafford could be of little avail in fathoming the depth of these spiritual intrigues ; but he was fully qualified to detect, and to counterwork, the devices of the lay conspirators. The haughty energy of his character, which, in yielding times, might have pressed with a dangerous vehemence against the other orders of the state, presented to their seditious excitement a suitable antagonist power ; and had his master been

A. D.  
1640.

endued with the same vigorous decisiveness, the turbulence of both islands would probably have been over-ruled. In the month of March, 1640, the Irish commons unanimously decreed him the highest panegyric which, perhaps, has ever been passed upon the governor of an agitated country. Having voted a very liberal subsidy to the crown, they inserted in the preamble of their bill of supply an encomium on the king's goodness to his Irish subjects: "Especially," said they, "in placing over us so just, wise, vigilant, and profitable a viceroy as the earl of Strafford, who has endeared himself to us by his great care and travail of body and mind; by his sincere and upright administration of justice without partiality; by his encrease of your majesty's revenue without the least hurt or grievance of the subject; by his diligence in obtaining for us the large and ample benefits we have received and hope to receive from the commission of graces; by his great pains in the restoration of the church; by his reinforcement of the army, and his ordering of the same with singular good discipline that it is now become a great stay and comfort to your whole kingdom; by his support of your majesty's laws here established, his necessary and just strictness in the execution thereof; his countenance and encouragement of the judges and other good officers, and his care to relieve the poor and redress the oppressed." The king having expressed his fears that, unless the Scotch submitted, a



A. D.  
1640.



further supply would be necessary, the obsequious house assented with the same unanimity. "If," proceeded the preamble, "his majesty be enforced to vindicate his just authority, this house, for themselves and for the commons of this kingdom, do profess that their zeal and duty shall not stop here; but they do humbly offer and promise that they will be ready with their persons and estates to the uttermost of their abilities for his majesty's further supply, as his majesty's future occasions shall require. And they pray that it may be represented to his sacred majesty by the lord lieutenant, that this their vote may be recorded as an ordinance of Parliament, and as a testimony to all the world and to succeeding ages; that as this kingdom has the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they are desirous to give his majesty just cause to account this people among the best of his subjects." The lords, having passed a vote of thanks to the commons for their chearful and ample supplies to the crown, proceeded to pronounce an emulous eulogy upon the administration of the viceroy. Loud and repeated cheers accompanied these *unanimous* resolutions of the two houses; and the profound tranquillity which prevailed all over the island, seemed to ratify the loyal acclamations of the senate.—So placidly did the current of public affairs glide on; so little reason was there, apparently, for apprehending that Ireland had already approached the cataract of rebellion. Protestants began to be

A. D.  
1640.

ashamed of their fears; uninitiated Roman Catholics took a pleasure in recollecting how the experience of forty years had continued to refute the prophecies of a bloody triumph over heresy; and the well affected of all parties reflected on the rumours of danger, so often raised, so invariably unattended by any ostensible verification.

Strafford was recalled from the government in the following month of April; and in June, upon the re-assembling of parliament, the first symptom of the impending horrors was unequivocally betrayed. Of the three parties which composed the house of Commons, the royalists had been weakened by the departure of several members, who held military commissions, to join the army intended for an expedition into Scotland; the papal recusants were now the most numerous; and the puritans, who occupied the opposite form of dissent, compensated their want of strength by an active spirit and the support of their English brethren. The two extremes, congenial in temper however opposed in interest and opinion, had been gradually drawing to a co-operation against the intermediate body, which was offensive alike from its temporal ascendancy and its religious moderation. They had been restrained from a formal union by the resolute address of Strafford; but the supineness of the new government left them free from all control, and they coalesced with an eagerness inflamed by the delay, and by a desire to wreak upon their late ruler those vindictive resentments which faction

A. D.  
1640.

generally mingles with political hostility. In this portentous confederacy, the balance of cunning was very evenly poised between the temporary allies : the difference of power, both in the house and in the country, preponderated overwhelmingly in favour of the Roman Catholics. Every thing that had been done in the former session was now undone, with a flagitious alacrity, which extorts the remark from a temperate but discerning writer,<sup>a</sup> “that though shame has a powerful influence in restraining individuals, it never enters into bodies of men.” Those who, three months before, had declared “that their hearts contained *mines* of subsidies for the best of kings,” now denounced the intolerable pressure of the supply which they had voted as an earnest of their loyal munificence ; and by the meanest artifices, reduced it to less than a half of the promised amount. Their unbounded applause of Strafford’s government was succeeded by condemnation equally unqualified : a formal protestation was drawn up in both houses against their late splendid and unanimous encomium ; they pronounced it *false*, they alleged that it had been extorted from their *fears* by the tyrannical arts of the viceroy, and prayed the king for permission to erase the scandalous record from their journals. Thus solemnly self-convicted of those kinds of baseness to which the concurrent sense of mankind has affixed the greatest infamy, the two branches of the colonial legislature aspired,

<sup>a</sup> Carte.

in due course, to the character of Irish patriotism. In a long catalogue of grievances, contradicting in every article the acts they had passed and the resolutions they had inserted in the money bill, they proclaimed the wrongs of their province to the English parliament, at the same time that, with blind inconsistency, they protested against its imperial jurisdiction. Some of these charges,—false, or at least exaggerated, as we must suppose them, if we allow any truth to their unmeasured panegyric—seem to shew an anxiety to establish a plausible case, and a sense of the value of popular opinion. “Trade,” they said, “had been injured by illegal impositions; merchants had been condemned to extreme hardships; monopolies multiplied; the promised graces refused; proceedings in civil causes managed contrary to law and the great charter; parliament deprived of its legitimate freedom; exorbitant fees exacted by the ecclesiastical and civil courts.” Others there were, which reveal the secret of their public spirit: the domestic tyranny of those days had too fierce an appetite for misrule to separate insult from impolicy, or suffer its victims to approach the confines of civilization. “Strafford,” proceeded they, “has oppressed the nobles and gentry, by overrating them in the assessment of the parliamentary grants;<sup>a</sup> he has aggrieved the people, by

A. D.  
1640.

<sup>a</sup> The old system of supply by *subsidy* was a species of income or property tax; but in Ireland, the aristocracy generally contrived that their portion of the charge should devolve upon their retainers; in fine, the demand of a contribution from an



A. D.  
1640.

enforcing the laws enacted against the use of the Irish apparel, *against ploughing by the tail, against burning corn in the straw, and against tearing the wool from living sheep.*" Armed with such complaints, a *paid* deputation of five Puritans and eight Roman Catholics was dispatched by the commons, to assist in the prosecution of the devoted earl: the spontaneous zeal of four Roman Catholic peers, afterwards authorized by a vote of their own house and remunerated by the liberality of the lower, prompted them to engage in the same cause. The intrigues of these committees, having already received a large share of the ignominy they deserve,<sup>a</sup> may be dismissed with the greater brevity. Negotiations, faithless

Irish senator was considered as almost a breach of privilege. Upon the arrival of Strafford, they endeavoured to secure by an artifice the continuance of that immunity, which, under his vigorous government, they despaired of obtaining by the simpler process of intimidation. It was gravely proposed at the council board, that the fine upon recusancy, which had never been regarded in any other light than as a possible penalty, restraining the Roman Catholic body by its suspended terrors but alighting only upon obnoxious individuals, should be universally exacted, and applied to the alleviation of Protestant burdens. The prompt and scornful refusal of Strafford hurt the pride of the Satraps; the unceremonious rigour with which he enforced the assessment, and, in one insolent instance, compelled the payment of all arrears, was an inexpiable offence against their avarice. He was prepared for the hostility of Loftus, Boyle, and Parsons; but how could he have suspected that the men whom he had rescued from their taunting tyranny would aid them in working his ruin?

<sup>a</sup> The same trite publicity of the volumes of Leland, Carte, Warner, O'Connor, &c. which removes the necessity of continual reference, suggests the propriety of abridgement, even at the hazard of weakening the effect of the narrative.

on both sides and effectual only for the common ruin, were spread among all those in the greater island whom the calamities of the times had invested with the character of public men. The *agitation* of the impeachment covered the operations of the more daring party at home : its *issue* brought contempt upon the crown ; terror to the local executive ; and to the Irish generally, whose notions of government have always been strongly associated with the person of the magistrate, the hope or fear of the approach of a season when the civil fabric should be utterly dissolved. Their success in this first experiment was a stimulus to the discovery of new wrongs and the advancement of new pretensions,—of little consequence except as they ministered to the great cause of sedition ; and the monarch, who had already surrendered to them the life and reputation of the ablest of his servants, was ill able to vindicate what remained of his dignity. On the 28th of August, 1641, the deputations returned with bills for the redress of all THE GRIEVANCES and the concession of all THE GRACES ; they were to be passed in form upon the opening of the new session in November, and in the mean time, it was carefully announced through the kingdom that the royal assent had been given by anticipation.

A. D.  
1641.

There is no sufficient evidence that the great body of the Roman Catholic aristocracy had formed, even now, a settled purpose of insurrection ; and it is certain that none of them were

A. D.  
1641.

animated by the genius or the aspiring views which had dignified the treason of Hugh O'Neil. They wished for a commotion ; they knew that one was at hand ; but it seems to have been the sum of their ambition to contemplate at a safe distance the first shock of civil war, and, by reserving their strength for arbitration or the prevailing party, to obtain as the price of their services, some petty increase of influence and emolument. It is no disparagement of their subtlety that they were over-reached by men, who, besides the advantages they derived from a veteran policy and the command of the multitude, were raised above sordid intrigue by devotion to their order, and found an adequate object for all their powers of evil in the magnitude of the prize for which they contended. While all eyes were fixed upon the transactions in the greater island, the prelates, aware that when blood was once shed these selfish lords would be driven from their neutrality, had made their dispositions for the great experiment. A few men of family, whose authority over their hereditary vassals had survived the ruin of their feudal dignity, and who depended on the reckless fidelity of these retainers to follow them, as they said " to the gates of hell," undertook to direct the barbarities of the assault. Their tumultuous onset was to be supported by the more regular operations of a disciplined force, which the treachery of the Irish commons and the wayward insolence of the English had conspired to place at the disposal of the

church. Seven thousand Roman Catholic soldiers had been raised for service in Scotland; and when the treaty of Rippon seemed to render their aid unnecessary, and the fears of the British Puritans, real or pretended, had perverted it into a grievance, Charles had found occupation for them in the French and Spanish armies: but by this interposition of the parliaments they were detained at home, their arrears of pay undischarged, their turbulence excited, released from the restraints of discipline and ready for innovation. The eloquence of the preaching friars, and the hopes, temporal and eternal, which the papacy has in store for the pious valour of Crusaders, soon gave a direction to their aimless energies; and experienced officers, dropping in silently but incessantly from the continent, were in readiness to marshal them for the approaching effort. Before the close of the year 1640, the king sent information to the lords justices<sup>a</sup> “that an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen, with some good old soldiers, had passed over from the continent, and that the Irish friars abroad were in expectation of a rebellion:” but the fate of Strafford, the devices of the malcontents, the honest imbecility of one deputy and the designing passiveness of the other, contributed to render the warning ineffectual. When diplomacy had done its work and the moment for action drew nigh, the fanaticism of the multitude was

A. D.  
1641.

<sup>a</sup> Borlase and Parsons.



A. D.

1641.

maddened by a rumour that the puritans had resolved to exterminate the Catholic faith : priests and cavaliers arrived more openly and in greater numbers, bringing assurances of succour from the pope and cardinal Richlieu ; the Spanish court too, it was said, the ancient patron of the church and people of Ireland, would not withhold its support in this great emergency. In the mean time the leading ecclesiastics, and the few lay chiefs to whom it was judged expedient to communicate counsels of such critical importance, continued to meet and concert their measures. Their favorite resort was an old Franciscan abbey in the county of Westmeath, a place which, from its retired yet central situation, and the handsome accommodation it afforded to clerical visitors, was judiciously chosen as the seat of conference. At the dissolution of the monasteries this edifice had been purchased by a recusant alderman of Dublin, who restored it to the original owners ; and by the industry of these fathers it was refitted in a splendor of which Ireland had, in those days, very few examples. A chapel in perfect repair, an altar graced with a respectable supply of pictures, images, and reliques, and a choir provided with singers and an organ, at once recalled the memory of better days and gave assurance of their return ; and what was more to the present purpose of the hierarchy, there were several spare apartments, with suitable stores and offices, for the entertain-

ment of strangers both horse and foot.<sup>a</sup> As the season advanced, the visits to the abbey became so frequent as to attract observation; and some of the more timid or obnoxious of the neighbouring Protestants had quitted the country before the summer was over.

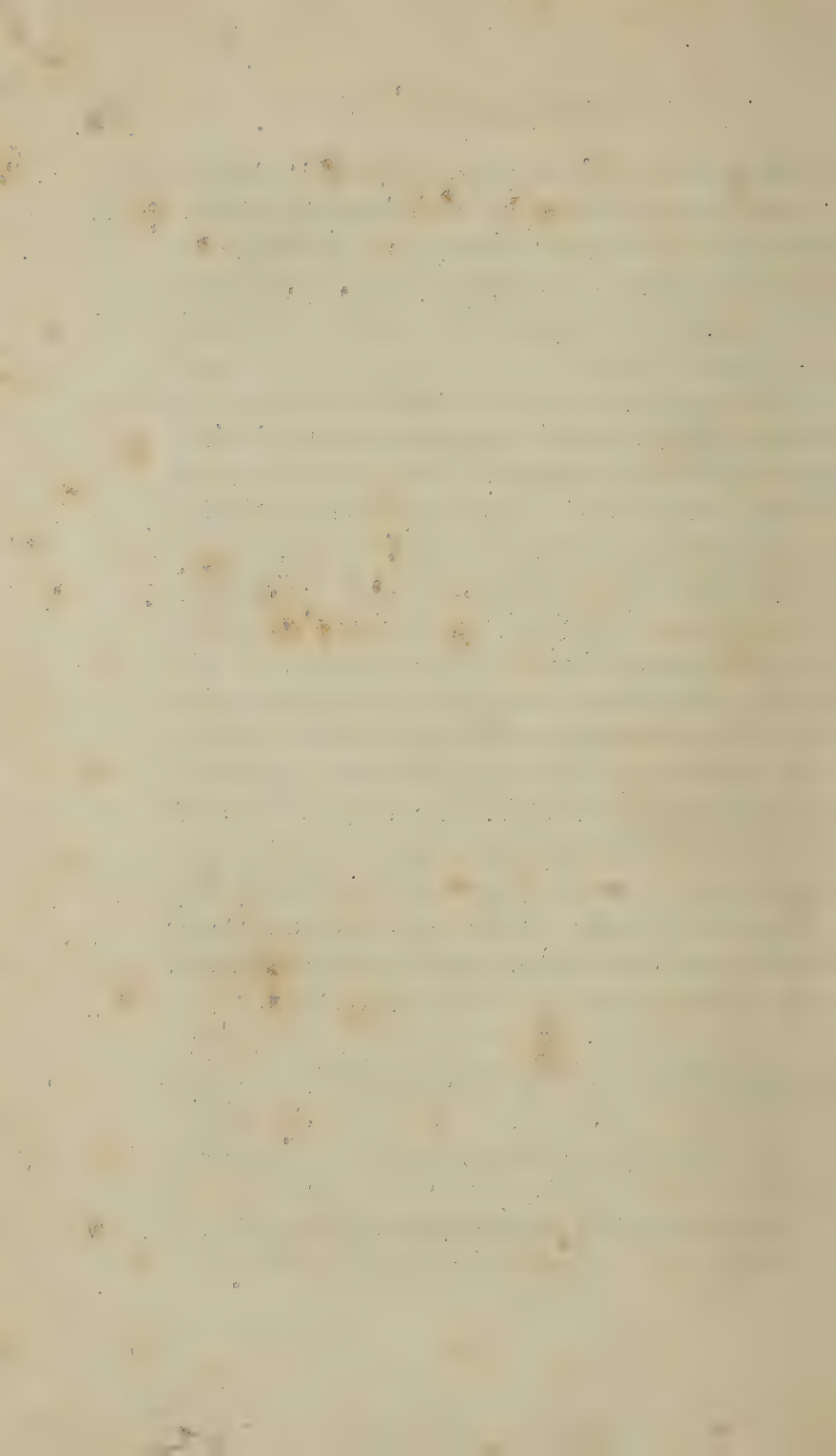
A. D.  
1641.

Through the rest of the island, not one note of fear or of preparation interrupted the awful tranquillity of that summer. Twenty-seven years before, it had been declared by one<sup>b</sup> who had studied the aspect of the times, that “whenever a favourable accident should happen, the Sicilian vespers would be acted in Ireland; and ere a cloud of mischief appeared, the swords of the natives would be in the throats of the Scotch and new English through every part of the realm.” With the exception of one particular,<sup>c</sup> the prediction was literally fulfilled: on the twenty-third of October the carnage began; on the thirtieth the order for a general massacre was issued from the camp of sir Phelim O’Neil; and shortly after, the manifesto of the bishop Mac Mahon proclaimed the commencement of a WAR OF RELIGION.

<sup>a</sup> The abbey of Mutifernam is mentioned by all our writers; it is described by Sir Henry Piers, who wrote in 1682. See Vallancey’s *Collectanea*, 1. 69.

<sup>b</sup> The author of the *Discourse of Ireland*, in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1. 435.

<sup>c</sup> The insurgents were ordered to spare the Scotch settlers,



















BX1503 .P53

The history of the policy of the Church

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00043 3971